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THE

LOYAL RAJPUTANA

OR

A DESCRIPTION OF THE SERVICES OF THE RAJPUTANA PRINCES TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT RENDERED DURING THE MUTINY OF 1857,

BY

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LOYAL RAJPUTANA.

PART I.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.

CHAPTER I.

The Regime.

At the time of making over the charge of the Government of India on the 29th February, 1856, Lord Dalhousie was so proud of the success of his administration and confident in the peace of the country that he left on record his opinion with full assurance of progressive prosperity without the least apprehension of a disturbance; yet words indicating what was to happen, had inadvertently dropped from his lips that, "cruel violence might be suddenly committed by men who, up to the last moment, had been regarded as harmless, even by those who knew them best."

Lord Canning, without any apparent signs of the disturbing causes secretly at work, had no reason to question the grounds of his predecesssor's assurances; but, as if impressed with a supernatural presentiment

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that his tenure of the office would be marked with some great crisis, had predicted, at a banquet given by the East India Company on the 1st August, 1855, in his following eloquent speech :—"I know not what course events may take, I hope and pray that we may not reach the extremity of war. I wish for a peaceful term of office, but I cannot forget that in our Indian Empire that greatest of all blessings depends upon a greater variety of chances and a more precarious tenure than in any other quarter of the globe. *We must not forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man's hand, but which growing bigger and bigger, may at last threaten to overwhelm us with ruin.* What has happened once may happen again. The disturbing causes have diminished certainly but are not dispelled. We have still discontented and heterogeneous peoples united under our sway; we have still neighbours before whom we cannot altogether lay aside our watchfulness; and we have a frontier configuration which renders it possible that at any moment causes of collusion may arise. Besides, so intricate are our relations with some subsidiary states that I doubt whether in an empire so vast and so situated, it is in the power of the wisest Government the most peaceful and the most forbearing, to command peace. But if we cannot command, we can, at any rate, deserve it by taking care that honour, good faith, and fair dealing are on our side; and then, if in spite of us, it should become necessary to strike a blow, we can strike with a clear conscience. With blows so dealt; the struggle must be short and the issue not doubtful."

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He was a resolute and conscientious man possessed of noble and generous instincts and approached his work with a deep sense of its importance. His only defects are said to be much scruplousness even on most urgent questions and excessive credulity to the representations of his counsellors on whom a heavy responsibility rested for seeing the cloud rise in the political horizon and hesitating to point it out to him.

This mode of action was not, however, from his personal shortcoming alone; on one hand he was bound by instructions from home to walk on his predecessor's footsteps, as on perusing the memorandum against the policy of annexation presented by a prudent officer, he candidly told that the arguments seem to be conclusive but what is advocated therein would involve a reversal of the policy which he was bound to carry out; and on the other, he was guided by the officers whom he found installed in the several departments on his arrival as every one in his position is obliged to be.

The Supreme Council then consisted of two Civilians, one Military and one Law member. Of the Civilians, Mr. John Peter Grant was a man of exceptional ability, possessing liberal and independent views. He unravelled most knotty points with remarkable clearness, quickly came to right conclusions, and spoke with fearlessness which is the first quality of an honest man. The other, Mr. John Dorin, possessed no high qualifications and was barely capable to discharge the routine duties. General John Low, an old veteran, who had fought in the last Marahta war and had been long

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employed at the Native Courts as Political Resident, was a man of real practical ability. He had many shortcomings, of which the infirmity of age was the foremost, his knowledge and experience in the military department were less proportionally as they were more in the political, and he could write elaborate minutes but from the deficiency of the power of speech he could not eloquently support the views, the correctness of which he was fully convinced of. He was supposed to belong to that party which considered Dalhousie going too far and too fast. Mr. Barnes Peacock, a distinguished English Barrister, was remarkable for his proficiency in law, but he could not be expected to form a sound opinion on questions other than those of his own profession. Both the Civilians as well as the Law members had experience of Bengal only and labouring under the total ignorance of the natives of Upper India entertained the strange idea that Bengalis were specimen of all the peoples of Hindostan.

In the Secretariat, Colonel Birch was the Military Secretary, anything but suitable to the post he occupied. Having been only a Judge Advocate, he would exhaust his energies in petty quibbles of law, and being naturally of shallow intellect, could not take a broad view of any question. Sir Charles Napier, under whom he served for sometime, disliked him for his habit of giving up his own opinion to please his superiors, and this very fact alone enabled him to gain favour with Lord Dalhousie who, in his spite towards the Commander-in-Chief, at once made him Military Secretary to the Government or *defacto* head of the army in India.

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Colonel Birch had no knowledge of the Bengal army, and seldom had opportunity to speak with a native soldier, his knowledge was based only on the information gathered from the office records and very different from what a personal experience would have taught.

Of the other Secretaries, who were Messrs Lushington, Beadon and Edmonston in the Financial, Home and Foreign Departments, respectively, it is enough to say that they were good clerks and not competent Counsellors. Accustomed only to issue the orders dictated by the imperious lips of their mighty master, Lord Dalhousie, they were incapable to initiate anything on their own responsibility or to afford a substantial help to the new Governor-General at a time when the country was to pass a critical revolution.

The Counsellors and the Secretaries all failed to notice the signs indicative of the existence of a mutinous spirit in the army, or if it was noticed at all, they did not realize the grievous consequences which were to follow the failure of suppressing it sternly and vigorously before it could develop into an overt demonstration.

The North-Western Province to be the scene of most disastrous events (as Delhi was included in that province), was under its Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. John Colvin, and Agra, the then seat of the Government, was a place of importance not only as a royal residence of the great Mugals scarcely inferior to Delhi but also as gateway of Rajputana and Central India, the conduct of whose native chiefs had to bear an influence

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on the perils of the troublous times. Possessed of a cultivated mind and large intellectual faculties, Mr. Colvin was perfectly qualified to carry on the Civil administration in a peaceful time, but his best friends regarded him incapable to hold the responsible post at a juncture when a man of stronger nerves and greater self-reliance was wanted to sway the minds of the people and to guide the state vessel through a storm.

In Oudh, the latest acquisition, Sir James Outram had assumed the administration only 25 days before Lord Canning's arrival, but his meagre health soon after necessitated his going home. Sir Henry Lawrence, an officer of untiring zeal and noble character, offered his services to officiate for him, but unfortunately for the province and the Government, his application reached Lord Canning after he had appointed Coverly Jackson as Chief Commissioner of Oudh. Mr. Jackson, the Chief, and Mr. Martin Gubbins, the Financial Commissioners, were men of equally violent and haughty temper. The time that should have been utilized in reconciling many a corrupt and discontented class to the new government was disgracefully wasted in useless quarrels amounting to public scandal. Tired of their continued contentions in spite of his successive injunctions, Lord Canning was at last compelled in January, 1857, to remove Jackson and to appoint in his place the wise and virtuous Sir Henry Lawrence, always a sympathizing friend to the fallen and capable of winning the sincere loyalty and passionate devotion of the people committed to his charge. He was the right man in the right place. But his appointment took place only a few

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months before the outbreak of the mutiny, and he could not, within so short a time, sufficiently repair the egregious errors perpetuated by his predecessor and amend the unpopular changes introduced by him. The members of the ex-king's family complained of an unmanly cruel treatment; the Talukdars were hastily ousted from their holdings, though they had been in an undisputed possession for times immemorial; the arbitrary power of every landholder and favourite of the Court was cut away by introduction of a regular Civil government; the numerous attendants of the late Court that gained by providing for its luxuries, were left without livelihood; a vast horde of 60,000 men of the king's disbanded army was thrown upon the world without any means of support, and the people habituated to indulge in opium, suffered greatly from a heavy taxation imposed on the drug. Still no other officer would have been able to do for redressing wrongs and pacifying the country what Sir Henry Lawrence succeeded in accomplishing in his short incumbency of the office.

The Punjab that had been seven years a portion of the British Empire, was under the administration of Sir John Lawrence, a bold politician of rare sagacity and resolution, whose character, temperament, and antecedents seemed as though expressly designed to meet a great emergency. He was the Chief Magistrate of Delhi when the Punjab was first invaded in 1845, and he was the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab on the last invasion and recovery of Delhi twelve years subsequently. He was thoroughly familiar with the

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people of the country throughout, and his knowledge being the strength, was turned to valuable account. Though not possessed of the charms of sympathizing charity which endeared his brother Henry, John Lawrence laboured as strenuously as he, for the prosperity of the natives. His heart was constantly at work and his powerful frame and robust constitution afforded him inexhaustible energy for the purpose. His sterling manliness of character and unostentatious devotion to duty with which he gave himself up to every good work are remembered with emotions by those who had opportunities to observe them.

Of the Punjab it is not amiss to say that its annexation proved a great blessing in the troubles of 1857. Howsoever may, the critics of Lord Dalhousie's policy accuse that nobleman as originator of the evil, it cannot be denied that by extending the British rule to the Punjab he had prepared an effective antidote for it. If the annexation of Oudh had created the bitter feelings and alienated the loyalty of the brave Hazari, the possession and good government of the Punjab had enhanced the resources of the state and gained the fidelity of the braver-nation of the Khalsa to coerce the turbulence of the former. The officers selected for the administration were the most qualified that could be found in India and the rapid progress the province made towards civilisation is a criterion of their high proficiencies. The antipathy between the Punjabis and Hindustanis as nations and between the Sikhs and Musalmans as religious parties, was a safeguard against spread of disaffection in the province and disarming the people

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and removal of the respected chiefs to distant lands, exercised a softening influence on their habits and precluded the chance of any mischief on their part. Thirty-six Purabia regiments were, indeed, stationed at different places in the Punjab, but there were thirteen Punjab Irregular Regiments and more than ten thousand European soldiers in the Peshawar valley and on the Simla hills to counter-balance their power and prevent a disturbance.

Mr. Herbert Edwards, the Commissioner of Peshawar, with the object of removing the bitter feelings of the Afgans created by the Kabul war and aggravated by the murder of Colonel Jackson, his predecessor, in 1853, arranged to restore peace with that nation, and by his tact, wisdom, and sincerity, a treaty of friendship and cordiality was concluded and signed, in March, 1855, by Sir John Lawrence and Haidar Ali Khan, the eldest son of Amir Dost Mohamad Khan.

This alliance was further confirmed, in January, 1857, by the grant of 4,000 stand of arms and a subsidy of Rs. 1,00,000 per month in return for maintaining an army of 8,000 Afgans to act against Persia, the common enemy of the two powers. On this occasion Dost Mohamad Khan personally met Sir John Lawrence and Mr. Edwards at the entrance of the Khaibar Pass and declared:—

"I have made an alliance with the British Government, and come what may, I will keep it till death."

The triumph of the policy was fully vindicated when the alliance with the Afgans contributed, in a

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great measure, to the success of the British arms only a few months subsequently, and Dost Mohamad's promise was never broken, though absence of European troops in the Punjab, tempted him to invade and his religious advisers, and even sons called on him to make a crusade and sweep the English from India.

During the crisis that occurred shortly after, the Punjab authorities were admirably successful, not only in preserving peace in the province under them, but also in recovering what had been lost, and in fact in protecting the whole British Indian Empire.

When the news of the outbreak of mutiny spread in the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence was at Rawalpindi on his way to Mari, Colonel Edwardes, the Commissioner, Colonel John Nicholson, the Deputy Commissioner, Colonel Sydney Cotton, Commanding the brigade, and General Reid, Commanding the Division, were at Peshawar, Brigadier Neville Chamberlain, an experienced officer and Commander of the Punjab Irregulars was at Kohat; at Lahore Sir Robert Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner, acted for Sir John Lawrence and he was assisted by Colonel Macpherson, the Military Secretary, Captain Richard Lawrence (a brother of Sir John), the Superintendent-General of Police, and Brigadier Stuart Corbett, who commanded at Mian Mir. All of them applied themselves vigorously to meet the emergency, and councils were held at Peshawar and Rawalpindi as well as at Lahore.

The first question of great anxiety was to ascertain how the population of the Punjab and the Punjabi

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troops particularly were to behave themselves at this juncture, and soon it became manifest to their satisfaction that the Punjabis had no sympathy with the Hindustanis, and were no way concerned in the mutiny. It was resolved to raise levies from the natives of the province and the border tribes with the triple purpose of meeting the emergency of the time, filling the vacancies made by the mutiny, disbandment and desertion of Hindustani regiments, and utilizing the energies of warlike and turbulent races who, if left at leisure and liberty, would have proved dangerous by committing mischiefs ; the District Officers were ordered to collect recruits, and trustworthy commanders were directed to organise them into troops. Thirty-four thousand men of diverse races, creeds, and dialects were enlisted in different localities, and it was only when they began to entertain the vain idea that their services were inevitably necessary to save the empire that their enlistment was stopped. Good horses were indeed scarce, but as their quality was not of great consideration at the time the cavalry portion of the recruits also did not fall short of demand.

In order to render the Hindustani troops incapable to do mischief, it was proposed to deprive them all at once of their arms, but as this measure was calculated to lead indirectly to increase the number of rebels in other provinces, recourse was had to the remedy only in cases of hopeless insubordination ; four regiments at Mian Mir, four at Peshawar and Mardan, two at Multan, and certain other troops were disarmed

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under this policy and this measure at once checked the show of any mutinous spirit by the troops in the Punjab.

One remarkable event in connection with the disarming policy was that Colonel Spottiswood, Commanding the 55th N. I. at Mardan, believing in the fidelity of his regiment, had requested the Brigadier not to disarm the regiment, but the policy being once adopted. no notice was taken of his request, and the regiment was disarmed by a party of English troops sent under Colonel Chute of the 70th Queen's ; stung with the idea that he was distrusted by his Government and his beloved corps, was put to the ignominy of being disarmed Colonel Spottiswood committed suicide.

The district and divisional officers were instructed by issue of a circular to act judiciously, promptly, and vigorously in all matters connected with rebellion, and it is to their great credit that each and every one of them, in addition to his ordinary revenue, judicial and miscellaneous duties, provided for the safety of the women and children, kept the communication open by repairing roads, bridges, and inspecting postal arrangements, collected recruits for new levies, furnished transport carriages, forwarded ammunitions and supplies, and some of them even went armed on field to render active service.

The services of Mr. Forsyth, the Deputy Commissioner, and Mr. George Barnes, the Commissioner of Ambala, were the most prominent of them. Situated-

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between Delhi and the Punjab, they recognised the necessity of their situation and took upon themselves the responsiblity of calling the Cis-Satlej Chiefs of Patiala, Jhind and Nabha to render assistance to the Government. Responding to the appeal and complying with the request of Sir John Lawrence, who strongly wrote to all the Panjab Chiefs to prove their loyalty on the occasion, the Chiefs unhesitatingly did what was required of them. The Maharajah of Patiala supplied 5,000 horse and foot and secured the line of communication for 120 miles by putting them at Thanesar and along the line; Maharaja of Jhind was actually the first man of Europeans and Natives, who took the field against the mutineers, served as an example to give the right turn to native public opinion, marched with 800 troops to Karnal and personally fought at Delhi; and Maharaja of Nabha garrisoned Ludhiana with his little force of 800 men which also escorted the siege train from Phillour to Delhi. Perfect tranquility was established all along the Grand Trunk Road throughout the Panjab and all consignments ever so small or large, reached their destination safely without fail.

A moveable column consisting of forces of all arms was formed under Colonel Nicholson to crush immediately any disturbance that might occur in any part of the Punjab. The column performed excellent services for two months, and when the peace of the province had been satisfactorily secured, it was hurled down against Delhi where it broke the backbone of the mutiny in the battle of Najafgarh.

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Sir John Lawrence from the very beginning urged upon Lord Canning and the Commander-in-Chief to make a short work of Delhi, and at the same time applied all the resources of his province to make the campaign a success. In the course of four months during which the siege of Delhi continued, in addition to an abundant supply of provisions, war ammunition, and greater part of the necessary treasure, he sent six battalions of European Infantry, one regiment of European Cavalry, considerable force of European artillery, seven battalions of Punjabi infantry, three regiments of Punjabi cavalry, one Punjabi corps of sappers, a body of Sikh artillery men; two siege trains, and eight thousand auxiliary troops of native chiefs.

Sir John's endeavours in all those adventures were heartily co-operated by Sir Bartle Frere, the Commissioner of Sindh, who took more interest in the affairs of the Punjab than those of his own province and spared no pains and troubles to save the Indian Empire. He established a regular system of transport both by boats in the canals and the bullock train on the road, forwarded supplies of every kind of store and furnished numerous battalions that served in the Punjab and the siege of Delhi. General Van Courtlands, who restored order in the districts on the west of Delhi, was sent by him.

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CHAPTER II.

Causes of the mutiny.

The most certain and immediate cause of the mutiny was the use of the greased cartridges necessitated by the introduction into the ranks of the army of an improved weapon, the Enfield Rifle, to supersede the old Brown Bess Musket condemned to be out of fashion.

Honest dealings and perfect religious toleration of longer than a century on the part of the Government and the loyal fidelity of the native army for generations, could not permit the suspicion of a design against religion; yet through a strange mishap arising from want of timely conciliation, the former committed a lamentable blunder and the latter rashly jumping to a wrong conclusion, put upon themselves the everlasting stain of ingratitude and disloyalty.

The factory to manufacture the cartridges at Dum Dum near Calcutta was unfortunately put under the charge of officers with little or no experience of India. Never thinking by whom the cartridges were to be used and what effect were they to produce on the natives whose mode of life dictated by religion differed from that of any nation in the world, they managed to have the cartridges made of the best and cheapest materials and without the least idea of offending any

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one indiscriminately used the fat of all animals in smearing them.

An operation carried on with all innocent frankness could not remain long a secret and the manner in which the noxious truth unhappily fell upon the knowledge of the stern soldiery was provoking their innermost fury.

A low caste labourer of the factory happened to ask a Brahmin soldier while bathing on a well to let him have a drink of water, and was indignantly refused on the ground that his *lota* (brasspot) would be defiled by his touch. The labourer laughed at his talking of defilement and taunted him with the cutting remark that his high caste was soon to be destroyed by biting the unclean cartridges. Painfully struck with the sharp insult, the soldier took the information to his comrades, and thence it was sent with the rapidity of lightning flash to all their friends and relatives in the Regiments of the Bengal army.

A Bengali translator in the Ordnance office, while translating the instruction paper that accompanied the Rifle, found in a dictionary the meanings, of "tallow," as, "the fat of the animals of sheep and oxkind," and of "lard," as, "the fat of swine melted and separated from flesh" (the materials with which the cartridges were greased), and naturally put the same words in vernacular. This translation created a great mischief. The very mention of the fats of oxen and swine led to believe that the Rifle and its cartridge were devised to destroy the religions of both the Hindus and Musalmans.

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That many of the Musalman kings of India forcibly propagated Islam, and that conversion to it during their reigns was a certain way to avoid danger and to gain favours were thoroughly known throughout India; and comparatively few of the mass of population knew the difference between the principles of and the manners of conversion to Islam and Christianity, the conclusion arrived at was that the Christian conquerors were now bent upon following the example of their Musalman predecessors in power.

Some wise officers endeavoured to dissipate the fears of the soldiers by explaining to them that no one can be converted to Christianity by force or fraud, and the only way to adopt it is the conviction of its truth through books, and the cartridges might be either pinched instead of biting or smeared with ghi or some other substance not objectionable to them. But the ill-feeling had been fomented to such a height that even the eloquent assurances were considered only as a measure to entrap them, for they believed that falsehood always precedes a fraud.

If moved simply by the change of weapon, the soldiers would not at once have rushed to arms without a thorough enquiry of the cause of alarm and a full deliberation on the consequences of their action; but their minds had been so poisoned by a series of adverse circumstances and prepared for blind credulity to perverse fictions that no appeal to reason and conciliation suggested to them, and the cartridge matter served only as a prime for the explosion of numerous combustible materials previously accumulated.

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On the first organization of the army only three officers, a Colonel, a Lieutenant-colonel and a Major selected with fitness to deal with the native mind and invested with full powers of reward and punishment were attached to a regiment, and its companies were commanded by native Subedars and Jamadars. In spite of difference of race, religion and mode of life, fair dealing and constant association established such a cordiality and sympathetic affection between the Europeans and natives that the Europeans treated their Indian comrades with much consideration, studied their feelings, relieved their wants and commanded them with discretion of a loving parent, while the latter on their part respecting their European superiors as lord and master, on whose favours and frowns did their hopes and fears depend, not only served them with filial reverence and personal devotion but also with familiarity matured by long unreserved intercourse freely conversed with them on all public and private topics. The number of English officers latterly increased by the appointment of a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ensign to each company; the Native officers, though allowed to remain, were deprived of their power, and the European officers rising in number from three to thirty-three, formed a separate society whose constant association and amusement among themselves left them little leisure to attend to the wants of the native soldiers. Officers and men having no other opportunity to see each other except on the parade ground, affection and confidence gradually gave way to apathy, indifference and distrust.

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The system of promotion by seniority instead of merit, created a great mischief ; while officers of tried ability and high natural genius were superseded by men quite unfit to exercise authority, nothing remained to stimulate ambition of the natives who came to know that no act of bravery or military ingenuity would ever entitle them to higher rank before those who by chance preceded them on the lists.

The Commanding officers were divested of their powers which being centralised in the Commander-in-Chief, an authority seldom seen by the soldiers, rewards and punishments were given with much delay after long correspondence. The soldier was taught to look upon his officer as a public servant, a little superior in rank, and he often defied his authority by Appeals and Courts Martial in which he was not unfrequently successful. Abolition of the corporal punishment by Lord William Bentinck put the commanding officers to further humiliation, and the soldiers entirely ceased to fear them.

The Bengal army, as a rule, was enlisted on the condition of serving within India, and even to the time of the mutiny the only six general service regiments were exception to the rule. To embark a ship for service across the sea was not a part of the bargain with them. The service in Burma was repeatedly a subject of discussion. In 1826, the Barakpur regiments refusing to march, one whole regiment, the 47th and ringleaders of the other regiments had to be punished with disbandment. In 1852,

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Lord Dalhousie in direct opposition to the terms of the service, ordered to embark for Arkan, the 38th regiment which flatly refused to obey. The order had to be rescinded and the circumstance, while exposing the breach of solemn promise, encouraged the army to commit the acts of avert disobedience. Difficulty again arose in 1856, when no general service regiment in Bengal and Madras was available to go to Burma. At this juncture Lord Canning committed the sad mistake of passing on the 5th July, 1856, an Act by which all native regiments were to be recruited in future for service everywhere. Under ordinary circumstances the Act could cause no discontent, for, it did not affect the interests of the soldiers already in service and the men employed in the six general service regiments were as high caste people as those in the others, but the alteration served as an additional argument to the excited mind of the soldiers that steps were gradually in progress to deprive them of their religion.

The demand of select Military Officers for lucrative posts in other departments received sudden and vast development when many an extensive province brought under British rule in the short period of Lord Dalhousie's administration, required a larger staff of officers than the civil service could supply, and officers picked from native regiments were entrusted with the charge of districts and divisions in Burma, Nagpur, the Punjab, and Oudh, known as the non-regulation provinces. The best officers being thus seduced away by the prospects of staff employ,

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the army was almost drained of its brightest intellects and firmest wills.

The native army was accustomed to draw an extra allowance called Bhatta, while serving beyond the borders of the Company's dominions; and this allowance was doubled on crossing the Indus for the Afgan war, on the consideration that they had to go not only beyond the British territory but also out of India. The prerogative enjoyed for a long time and to a greater extent very recently was suddenly withdrawn on the annexation of Sindh in 1843, and to garrison it four Bengal regiments on the Punjab frontier were ordered to march. For the discontinuance of the extra pay the Government pleaded that the perquisite was allowed on the ground of their serving beyond its territory, and since that province had been incorporated with British India, the regiments stationed at Haidarabad or Karachi, were entitled to no more additional allowance than those stationed at Allahabad or Calcutta. The order was no less injurious to the interests of the soldiers than puzzling to their keenest reasoning faculties. It was with the hope of drawing this extra allowance that they were induced to undergo every kind of difficulty and inconvenience in the distant services, and they could not at all understand why were they deprived of the boon that they had never before been denied. The reason that the country had become a part of the British dominions, seemed to them very futile, inasmuch as they were required to serve at the same distance from their homes; moreover, considering the

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annexation of the province as mainly the effect of their own exertions, they were sorry to be punished for the act which had held out to them the hopes of reward. The troubles resulted in the disbandment of an entire regiment, the 34th and leading men of three more, and the measures seemed for a time to have effected the desired end.

Difficulties, however, rose again after the conquest of the Punjab when, on the discontinuance of the extra allowance, two regiments stationed at Rawal Pindi, refused to receive their pay and were reconciled to their fate by prompt action of Sir Colin Campbel ready to bring a vast European force to overawe them. The authorities decided that an overwhelming necessity existed to enforce discipline in the native army, and Sir Charles Napier, the Commander-in-Chief, proceeding on a tour in the northern province, learnt with anxiety that twenty-four regiments were only waiting for an opportunity to rise. While disbanding the 66th regiment for misbehaviour he pitied the recusants, for he believed that disloyalty was the result of injustice, and in this spirit of sympathy directed that a compensation equal to the difference of the rates of provision be granted to the soldiers. Lord Dalhousie disapproved this measure and publicly reprimanded Napier for this his unauthorised proceeding. Disunion of the highest Civil and Military authorities was too significant to escape the notice of the native army, and Napier disgusted with the unjust and ungenerous treatment, resigned his office not to be a powerless spectator of the anticipated evil. Threats.

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punishments, and entreaties succeeded in getting over the occasional difficulties, but confidence of the Bengal army was shaken so lamentably that foundation was laid of that horrible catastrophe which followed some years after.

Before the passing of the Post Office Act of 1854, the postage on letters was levied in cash, proportional to the distance of the destination, in many instances, a large sum, and the military servants were privileged to send weekly letters to their homes post free, the covers being signed by their Commanding Officers. The postage on letters being reduced by that Act, to half anna regardless of distance, the native soldiers were deprived of their right of sending post free letters. and thereby set at liberty to post letters by affixing stamps without the intervention of their Commanding Officers. This privilege helped the soldiers with a considerable saving in their expenses, and gave them distinction over the public, but from the fact of the cover being taken for signature to the Commanding Officers, at the same time, served as a check against their holding communication on political matters. The change gave them a cause of complaint for the loss which they computed at the past and not the future rate, and taught them the freedom to write anything they liked; and the communications which led to the spread of the sad disclosure of Dum Dum and the mutinous spirit generally were greatly facilitated by it.

While the native army was so miserably rotten that Sir Charles Napier predicting its dangerous

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consequences, gave up the command, and long experience and rare sagacity of Sir Henry Lawrence enabled him even to name Delhi and Merath where the rising storm was suddenly to burst, affairs in the Civil and Political branches were far more unsatisfactory, and the people of the country of whom the soldiery was not an insignificant representation, were excited to fervour. The policy of Lord Dalhousie was to extend the British dominions by all possible means, and the conquests of sword were supplemented by a less hazardous but not less effectual method of acquisition that on failure of natural heirs the sovereignty of a subordinate state should not descend to an adopted son but lapse to the paramount power.

The Punjab had been already conquered by Lord Hardinge in 1845, but with exception of Jalandhar Duab the country was restored to Dalip Singh, the minor son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, with whom a treaty of perpetual friendship was concluded on the 8th March, 1846. The administration was put under a British Resident on the understanding that it would last only eight years to the Maharaja's coming to mature age when the state would be formally made over to him. Scarcely half an year after the arrival of Lord Dalhousie the revolt of Mul Raj, the governor of Multan, necessitated another war, and Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, crushed the power of the Sikhs and completed the subjugation of the Punjab. No leniency similar to that on the former occasion was shown now, the whole of the Punjab was annexed by the proclamation of the 29th March, 1849, and Maharaja Dalip Singh was sent to

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England on a pension of Rs. 6,00,000, per annum. The punishment dealt out to Mul Raj and the Sikhs was just what their turbulent conduct deserved ; but the annexation of the Punjab, though it proved a great blessing during the disturbance of 1857, was contrary to the terms of the treaty concluded with the minor chief who could not be charged of any offence ; and injustice of the act could not escape the notice of the Indian public.

The first State to be escheated according to the principle of lapse was Sitara which had been reconstituted by Lord Hastings on the downfall of the Peshwa. The Raja of Sitara died without a male heir, and Lord Dalhousie, by his order of the 30th August 1848, overruling the opinion of Sir George Clerk, the Governor of Bombay, set aside his death-bed adoption and annexed his State to the British territories.

Narsing Pal, the Maharaja of Karouli, died on the 10th July, 1852, and Bharat Pal, adopted by the late chief, was recommended by General Low for succession. Lord Dalhousie, though acknowledging that the Rajputana principalities have claim of antiquity in their favour, and that Government of India would not, at any time, be disposed to interfere with the customary modes of succession among them, yet advancing arguments preponderating in favour of lapse ordered to annex. The order was, however, rescinded by the Court of Directors, who, drawing a line of distinction between a dependent principality and a protected ally, rescued Karouli from grasp of usurpation. The pro-

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ceeding naturally lasted about three years during which the State as *subjudice* was managed by a Political Agent. The claims of Bharat Pal were in the meantime set aside by the superior right of Madan Pal who was formally installed as the Maharaja of Karouli. But the interregnum of three years created the feelings of fear and insecurity among the native chiefs and a suspicion on the justice of the Government.

The Raja of Jhansi, a Marahta Brahmin, the loyalty and faithfulness of whose house to the British Government had been acknowledged in high terms on numerous occasions, died in 1853. The claim of the Raja's adopted son, aged five years, for succession, was disallowed, and not only was the State confiscated, but also the private property of the Raja was disgracefully put to sale. A pension was offered for his widow and dependents, but it was scornfully refused and Lakshmi Bai, the Rani., regarded herself grievously wronged.

Raghoji, the last Raja of the Bhonsla family and ruler of Nagpur or the country called Berar, died on the 11th December 1853, without leaving a son, natural or adopted, and though recommended by Mr. Mansel, the Resident, his widow was not allowed the choice of adopting an heir, and the State being annexed to the British territories, formed the present Central Provinces. The ignominious act of putting the deceased Chief's property to sale was repeated at Nagpur also and though it is said, the proceeds amounting to Rs. 20,00,000 constituted a fund known the "Bhonsla Fund," from which pensions of Rs. 9,82,000 a year were assigned to

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the Rani and her dependents, the act has been publicly known as " Spoliation of the Nagpur palaces."

Under the same principle of lapse did the small States of Jaitpur in Bundelkhand, Baghat in the Punjab, Udaipur on the western frontier of the lower Bengal and Budawal in Khandesh pass under the direct British rule.

The closing act of Lord Dalhousie's administration was the annexation of Oudh an extensive kingdom of 25,000 square miles in area and 5000,000 souls in population, which from its importance in every respect, placed the prevailing policy in a striking light and obliged every native prince to recognize that even the most dignified and loyal State was doomed to the fate. Oudh was neither lapse nor disloyal, there were heirs, both natural and legal, and from the beginning of its connection with the British Government, its Nawabs or kings had been staunch friends and faithful allies, avoiding the chance of giving offence and aiding the Government with large contributions. The only weak point was that guarded by the British arms against all dangers, external and internal, the Nawabs had sunk to private debauchees and public oppressors. Colonel Sleeman's report of 1851 is a record of horrors and desolation showing that "Nature had intended Oudh to be a garden, but its rulers were fast turning it into a desert." Yet it was not the object of Sleeman to destroy the dynasty on whose follies he looked with more compassionate regret than with revengeful hatred, and he recommended that only the administra-

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tion of the State be assumed by the British Government for the benefit of the people and the royal family. Lord Dalhousie with due regard to the circumstances, changed his stern resolution and proposed only the withdrawal of the British protection from the State and leave the Nawab to his fate. The Court of Directors taking a view different from both and in the despatch, dated 21st November 1855, characterized as "specimen of the art of writing important instructions so as to avoid responsibility," issued their final order for the annexation of Oudh. Accordingly, with the proclamation of the 13th February 1856, that the Government of Oudh is, henceforth for ever, vested in the East India Company, the Resident assumed the direct administration of the country, and Wajid Ali Shah, the last king, was sent to Calcutta to live on a pension of Rs. 12,00,000 per annum. Annexation of Oudh without a blow which Lord Dalhousie looked back with pride was the foremost predisposing cause of the mutiny as it extremely disturbed not only the public but also the native army on whose fidelity the peace of the empire mainly depended. All the Bengal Regiments of Infantry were recruited from Oudh or its neighbourhood, and there was scarcely a soldier who was not directly or indirectly concerned in the change. Very few, indeed, had any sympathy with the ex-king, but there were so many rights and privileges enjoyed by the high caste men of which the army was composed, that they naturally dreaded the frustration of all their interest by the transfer of the rule. Their position, as the servants of the paramount power, added greatly to the respect

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attracted by social status, and a soldier at home on leave was looked upon with reverence and awe even by local State Officers. The very fact of his being a soldier of the British army was a criterian of the legality of his claim and little or no evidence was required to procure him a favourable decree. This state of affairs could not continue when European Judges taking the place of the native Nazims distributed even-handed justice to high and low indiscriminately; and the eyes of the soldier then opened, and he suddenly came to learn with grief that the extension of his master's rule to his home far from conferring any benefit, reduced him to dust in the public opinion.

Affairs in Delhi, the old capital of India, were not in a better condition than in its viceroyalty of Oudh. Bahadur Shah, the last representative of the Mugal dynasty, was nominal king of Delhi. The empire had been lost by his feeble predecessors, one of whom was rescued by Lord Lake, the British General, from oppression of the Marahtas in 1803, and since then he and his successors were kept with comfort and splendour in the palace of his ancestors on a pension of Rs. 12,00,000 per annum.

The liberal provision made for the king's maintenance was indeed an act becoming the compassionate magnanimity of the English conquerors; but letting him enjoy the shadow of royalty when the substance had been lost and at the same spot where his ancestors ruled the sceptre of India, indicated an extreme want of political foresight and sagacity. Had not the

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Marquis of Wellesley neglected in 1803 the opportunity of sending away the pageant king to some distant region, Delhi would not have been in 1857 the focus of attraction to the rebellious army from every quarter with a superstitious veneration to the remnant of the Mugal dynasty.

Particularly at this time the king and his family were considerably excited in consequence of a correspondence that passed regarding the succession in 1850, and Bahadur Shah was rightly informed that the British Government contemplated to deprive the house of Temur of the remaining semblance of royalty. There was a dispute for succession between his sons Fakhruddin *alias* Mirza Fakhru, the elder, and Jawan Bakht, the younger, whose mother, Zinat Mahal Begam, had a great influence upon the aged king.

The Government hit upon the scheme of acknowledging the succession of the elder and utilising the claims of the younger by obtaining from the former the desired concession of removal from Delhi, and Fakhr-ud-din reluctantly consented to this arrangement and the claims of Jawan Bakht met with a flat refusal. It was not to be wondered at then, that the feelings of the king and the queen should have prompted them to seize an opportunity to strike a blow for the preservation of the family honors, especially because Mirza Fakhru had died in 1856.

About the same time the invasion of the Shah of Persia on Herat, a dependency of Dost Mohamad Khan, an ally of the British Government, necessitated an

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expedition to Persia under Sir James Outram, who, entering the Persian Gulf and landing at Bushahr, gained two victories and compelled the Shah to sue for peace. The Begam of Delhi was not slow to think that hostilities between England and Persia might be turned to her advantage, and she persuaded the Shah to undertake or to join in the destruction of the English.

Among other articles of booty captured from the tent of the Persian prince defeated at Mohammra fell into the hands of the English, a long proclamation under the signature of the Shah without date, distinctly purporting to warn the Indian Musalmans that their religion was endangered by the faithless English, that the Shah had declared a crusade against them and organized an army to march upon India and that it was duty of every Mohamadan to join this religious war.

Another proclamation illustrated by the picture of a man with naked sword in hand and purporting to come from the Shah of Persia, was actually posted up on the wall of the Jama Masjid of Dehli in March, 1857. It was stated therein that a Persian army was coming to expel the English from India, and all the true Mohamadans were called upon to put on their armour and join the invaders.

The Shah himself subsequently admitted that he had fomented disaffection in Upper India during the Persian war and intended to invade India.

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These exciting rumours stirred the smouldering embers of Mohamedan fanaticism into flame, their hearts were beating fast in the hopes of great political changes by which Delhi was once again to be the Capital of India.

Baje Rao Peshwa, the ruler of Puna and head of the Marahta confederacy, incurred the displeasure of the British Government through his turbulent and intriguing conduct, and after fight, flight and surrender, he was sent to live at Bithur near Kanhpur on a pension of Rs. 8,00,000 per annum in 1818. He lived thirty-three years longer and died in 1851. Dhundupant, the infamous Nana Sahib, was a son of Ram Chandrpant, the late Peshwa's Subedar, and from his boyhood used to live in the Peshwa's family where he was tolerably educated in English. He was never adopted, but on the death of the Peshwa he forged a will to that purport and claimed inheritance on its authority. His claim was disputed by the Peshwa's widow who having unsuccessfully contested for sometime, fled to Banaras and was determined to appeal to the British Government. Nana's artful contrivance, however, prevailed upon her to return to Bithur and give up her claims. Emboldened by the success of his measure in possessing the personal property of his benefactor, he laid his claim for the title and pension of Baje Rao on the ground of adoption. Two successive Commissioners, who managed the estate, supported the application that a part of the late Peshwa's pension should be continued to him for the support of the family, but Lord Dalhousie as well as the Court of Directors on

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appeal rejected the application. He was, however, allowed to live in the fortified palace of Bithur, to keep six guns, and as many armed followers as he chose. In regard to his claim of pension he was informed that the savings of his adoptive father conjectured to amount to not less than Rs. 28,00,000, were sufficient to support him.

Early in 1853, when the above reply from England was on its way, Nana sent his agent, Azimulla Khan, to prosecute his case there. The case was decided before his arrival, but being sufficiently provided with money he prolonged his stay in England and rejoicing to hear the disastrous sufferings of the English in the Crimean war, proceeded to that locality, and from his conversation with the people of divers nations and personal inspection, came to the conclusion that the power of England so much dreaded in India, was on the brink of destruction, and that it would require a united effort of the princes and people of India to push her back from the country.

Shortly after his return, Azimulla and his master, Nana Sahib, paid a mysterious visit to Lakhnow where their object could not escape the keen observation of Sir Henry Lawrence who warned Sir Hugh Wheeler, Commanding at Kanhpur, not to trust them.

Outward relations of Nana Sahib with the European society of Kanhpur were very friendly. He liberally gave them entertainments, partook in all their pursuits and amusements, and always readily lent his elephants to high Officers. But how treacherously and

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ferociously did this man act, will be seen from the dreadful events that occurred after the outbreak of the mutiny.

In 1856, the missionaries published a manifesto which went to prove that the diffusion of western language and sciences and introduction of the telegraphs, the railways and steamships by facilitating the communication of men of all races were to be indirect instruments for accomplishing their spiritual union under one faith.

About the same time, certain enactments, such as legalizing the remarriage of Hindu widows, continuing the right of a renegade from Hinduism to inheritance, and restraining the poligamy of the Kulin Brahmins of Bengal, were either ordained by or under the contemplation of the legislature.

The pious conservatives, who wished to stand in the old ways of customs and creeds, felt consternation and had ample grounds to deplore the changes which threatened the whole structure of society and struck at the very heart of religion; and as the soldiers of the army were members of the same society and had their friends and relatives throughout the country, the feelings were naturally shared by them, and a bitter animosity was thereby provoked.

Alarms and excitements produced by foregoing causes, would have been of no avail had not the native army been infatuated by its own importance and strength in comparison with the European forces in which the real strength of the British rule in India consisted.

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The services of the native troops were originally engaged with an economical view as an auxiliary to make up the deficiency of Europeans whose costs were very heavy. But the experiment proved so advantageous, not only by their glorious successes against foreign enemies but also by their staunch fidelity in coercing European mutinous troops in 1766, that the scheme was carried out to an unanswerable excess, and the proportion primarily designed was so inverted that the native troops, instead of complimenting the Europeans, had themselves been complimented by them.

At the close of Lord Dalhousie's administration the whole Indian army amounted to 2,32,224 natives and 45,322 Europeans with the ratio of 5 to 1. In Bengal, the largest of the three presidencies, there were 74 infantry, 2 regular, and 18 irregular cavalry regiments with a compliment of artillery, altogether more than than 100,000 natives, The infantry regiments were all composed of high caste Hindus of Oudh, and its vicinity who, while forming, as if a single family, were one of the haughtiest and most prejudicial people in the world. Moreover, they had the advantage of holding all the treasuries, garrisoning most of the forts, and possessing greater part of artillery the organ of strength which made the British nation superior to any power in the world. There the proportion of Europeans was much less than that shown above. Regiments consisting of 10,500 men were amassed on the Kabul frontier and in the Punjab, and were only what the needs of the province required; and seven weak regiments were scattered over the three extensive provinces of Bengal,

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Oudh and North-West, 2 at Calcutta and Meerath and 1 at Dinapur, Lucknow and Agra each, and were barely sufficient to hold their own position far less to strike a blow.

Comparatively few of the gigantic body of the natives knew that the British Government could bring out a vast European army from its numerous possessions on the surface of the globe, and even those who knew were fully aware that it required a long time to bring that army to the field of battle.

Such were the circumstances and vain considerations that added to the various causes enumerated above, encouraged the Bengal army to throw off their allegiance and come to the conclusion of subverting the British power and establishing the supremacy of the long lost Mugal Empire.

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CHAPTER III.

Outbreak of the Mutiny and Seige and Capture of Delhi.

Before the storm actually burst, there were many signs of the impending troubles, the chief being incendiarism, the regular symptom of coming mutiny. The 19th Regiment at Barhampur had, in February, 1857, refused to receive the new cartridges and had been disbanded. In the following month, at Barakpur, Lieutenant Baugh, the Adjutant of the 34th Regiment, had been cut down by a man named Mangal Pande, who had proclaimed himself a mutineer, whilst the men of the quarter-guard looked on without rendering any aid to their officer, This regiment also was disbanded a few weeks afterwards. Early in April, the 48th Regiment had shown the signs of mutiny at Lakhnow; while in May, just before the outbreak at Merath, the 7th Oudh Irregular Cavalry at Lakhnow, had refused to receive the new cartridge, and those who did not run away when the troops to disarm them were brought, had been made to lay down their arms.

At Merath were quartered :—

Europeans; the 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabineers), 1st Battalion 60th Rifles, a troop of Horse Artillery, and a light field Battery, altogether 1,700 men strong.

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Natives; the 3rd Light Cavalry, the 11th and 20th Native Infantry, altogether 2,700 strong.

The brigade was commanded by Colonel Archdale Wilson, R.A., and Major-General Hewitt, commanded the division.

In a parade held on the 23rd April, for the purpose of explaining that the cartridges were to be broken with fingers instead of biting, 85 troopers of the 3rd Cavalry refused to touch even the old cartridges. Being sentenced by a Court-Martial entirely of native officers to imprisonment of various terms, these men were sent to Jail from a general parade on the 9th May, when all native troops appeared sullen and sympathising with the convicts.

On the 10th May, Sunday, when the residents and European troops were in Church, the men of the 3rd Cavalry galloped to the Jail and released not only their comrades but also all the civil prisoners. Simultaneously the soldiers of the 11th and 20th Regiments hurried out from their lines in tumultous disorder; and the men of the 20th shot Colonel Finnis of the 11th and other officers, whilst some of the 3rd Cavalry went to the Officers' bungalows and slaughtered all whom they could find.

All that night, they—the mutinious soldiers, the released prisoners, and the scum of population—were absolute masters of the station, and the English authorities, both civil and military, taken by surprise, had apparently lost their senses. The European troops,

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instead of protecting the officers of the native regiments and their families, marched to the general parade ground and back, and then bivouacked for the remainder of the night, whilst the mutineers speedily made for Delhi without any pursuit. No attempt was made even to put the Delhi authorities on their guard.

The mutinous cavalry reached Delhi at sunrise, cut down the toll-keeper and a solitary Englishman whom they met. Mr. Simon Fraser, the Commissioner, coming to know the events, though too late, closed the Nigammod or Calcutta gate and took measures to prevent the disorder. The mutineers going to the backside of the fort or the king's palace, clamoured for admittance, declaring that they had killed the English at Merath and come to fight for the true faith. Captain Douglas, the Resident, entering the verandah, ordered them to depart, on which scornfully defying him they moved southward and entered the city by the Rajghat gate. The first victim that fell at their hands, was Dr. Chimman Lall, a Kayasth convert to Christianity, working in the dispensary, being shot down on his simple reply that he was a Christian.

The men of the 38th regiment at the palace gate admitted the mutineers into the citadel, where they cut down Mr. Fraser, Mr. Hutchinson, the Collector, Captain Douglas, Revd. Jenings, his daughter and Miss Clifford. Outside the palace the carnage was greater, the Delhi Bank was attacked, and Mr. Beresford, the Manager and family, after a gallant defence, were all

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slain. The Delhi Gazette Press and its inmates met the same fate.

In the College, Messrs Taylor, Roberts, Steward and Stain, the Principal, Headmaster and teachers, were furiously attacked while doing their peaceful duty ; but the last named officer did not fall before beating down many of the assailants with a strong stick.

Mr. Todd, the Telegraph Master, was killed in his office ; but a signaller persevering in his duty, sent messages of this dire catastrophe to Ambala, Lahore, Rawal Pindi and Peshawar, before the wire was broken, and he received the fatal blow.

In the cantonments, where the 38th, the 54th and 74th native infantry regiments were stationed, the officers learnt the news on their return from the parade, but believing the mutiny to be only isolated, expected that whilst their own brigade would show to the mutineers a bold front, the Carabineers and the Rifles from Merath would assail them from the rear. With a light heart the officers of the 54th and of the battery of artillery accompanied their men to the city, but on their arrival at the Kashmiri gate, the men of the 38th at the mainguard, set the example of revolt and refused to fire on the mutineers, while some of the 54th fired in the air, and others on their own officers. The 74th was then let down from the cantonments and halted at the mainguard when a terrible explosion occurred.

Along the city wall between the Kelaghat and Nigammod gates, where now Post office stands, was the great

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magazine full of ammunitions of war. Lieutenant George Willoughby was in charge of it, and there were several other officers under him. Being informed, at about 8 o'clock, by Sir Theophilus Metcalf, the Magistrate, that the mutineers had been admitted to the fort, he at once realized the situation and resolved to defend the magazine to the best of his power, and failing in it to destroy its valuable contents so that they may not fall into the hands of the rebels. A train was laid to the powder store and the gallant Englishmen awaited the attack. The Merath mutineers brought scaling ladders and erected them against the walls ; the native establishment all deserted. A long and gallant defence was made and Forrest and Buckley were disabled ; then seeing that further resistance was hopeless, Willoughby ordered to fire the train. None expected to survive, and Scully and four of his comrades were never seen again. Willoughby and Forrest, however, reached the Kashmiri gate, whilst Reynor and Buckley also escaped with their lives. Hundreds of the assailants were hurled away by the firy storm..

Simultaneously, with the destruction of the magazine at 4 P. M., the men of the 38th at the mainguard, fired a volley into the group of officers near them and killed several. The remainder, taking with them some ladies and children who had assembled at the guard house, effected their escape by crossing the ditch with great difficulty and making their way through the jungle, some to cantonments and other towards Metcalf's house..

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In the meantime the troops in the cantonments had refused to act against the mutineers and become very excited ; but they were few in number, consisting only of two guns of DeTeissier's battery, the 38th and some of the 74th. All officers and their families had collected at the Flagstaff tower, in front of which the guns had been placed. The bearing of the soldiers was changing and it was clear that in the attack they would join their brethren against the Europeans. The heat was intense and the place was crowded. All thoughts were turned towards Merath, but no succour came. To hold out was hopeless, flight alone was possible ; so, when the explosion at the magazine had taken place, it was decided to retire as best as they could. Captain DeTeissier drew off his two guns and men, women and children, sallied forth ; alike those who had been at the tower all day and those who had but just arrived from the mainguard. Fortunately the men of the 38th, though defiant and insolvent, did not oppose retreat ; in fact, they urged Brigadier Graves and the Brigade-Major who had remained behind to follow the others.

At sunset all started on different conveyances and on foot, suffering terribly in the ways, crouching in by-ways, wading rivers, carrying their children, enduring maltreatment of villagers, hungry, thirsty, and weary, many perished on the way, while others succeeded in escaping to Merath, Karnal or Ambala.

It is, however, stated on the whole that the natives of the Musalman villages generally put them to torture and inconvenience, while those of the Hindu population

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afforded protection and treated kindly for weeks and months.

Some fifty Christians, who lived in Daryaganj, had taken refuge in one of the strong houses and barricaded themselves. Their asylum was, however, speedily stormed and the defenders dragged to the palace where they were lodged in an underground apartment without windows and with only one door. Five days later they were led to the court-yard and massacred. After that, the 16th May, not a single Christian remained in Delhi.

The escape of Sir T. J. Metcalf Bart was marvellous. Riding on a naked horse he passed through the city *viâ* Ajmeri gate, pursued by a rabble throwing stone, brick, stick, bamboo and every missile they could find at him. He went first to Jhajar, with Abdurrahman Khan, the Nawab of which, besides his being a Jagirdar of the Government, he had a hereditary friendship, but the Nawab treated him so contemptuously that he must have thanked God for getting out of Jhajar with his bare life. His next visit was to Dadri where he met no better treatment. Bahadur Jang Khan, the Nawab, expressing his inability to do anything, dismissed him with a few polite words. It was Maharaja Sarup Sing of Jhind who received Metcalf with open arms and great hospitality, placed all the resources of the state at his disposal, and had him conveyed to Simla with safety and convenience. The Maharaja threw his lot with the British Government, and putting himself at the head of his troops, soon after joined the British army that advanced to oppose the rebels.

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Bahadur Shah, the last king of Delhi, assumed the sovereignty of India, thus forcibly thrust upon him. He took his seat upon the throne and received homage from the officers of the rebel army ; the green flag of Islam hoisted on the minarets of Jama Masjid ; and Mirza Mugal, one of the princes, was appointed the Commander-in-Chief, and other princes were made Colonels of the Regiments.

The importance of Delhi, as the imperial city with advantage of the protection of the king of traditional greatness and inexhaustible munition of war, attracted every mutineer to that focus of disturbance, and regiment after regiment as they mutinied at their several stations, began to pour into the ill-fated city.

At Firozpur, on testing the disposition of troops, the Brigadier Colonel Innes found the 45th and 57th infantry regiments mutinous, and the 10th Light Cavary loyal as it proved to the last. The two disaffected regiments were first deprived of the charge of the magazine and then disarmed by the help of the 61st European Infantry and 150 gunners, and after the 45th had murdered a few Christians and destroyed some houses, both the regiments started to Delhi.

Six companies of the Sappers and Miners were ordered from Rurki to Merath where they reached on the 14th May. Being found disaffected, they were told to lay their arms, but they refused and killed Captain Fraser, their forming officer. The Dragoons and artillery hastily pursuing them killed 50, and captured a large number; two companies surrendered arms and 280 men managed to reach Delhi.

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The head quarters of the 9th regiment were at Aligarh and its detachments of two companies each were stationed at Mainpuri, Itawa and Bulandshahr. The regiment was considered to be a pattern of the army and hitherto a faithful one, but the following incident proved how false the idea was. At Aligarh a mutiuous soldier of some other corps was hung for being a spy at a parade held on the 20th May. One man of the regiment passing by the qiuvering body of the punished offender exclaimed, "look at this Martyr of our religion"! Immediately on hearing this the whole of detachment at the head quarters broke out in revolt. Their example was followed by their Comrades at the other three stations; murdering as many Europeans as they could lay their hands on, plundering the treasury, letting loose the prisoners and going to Delhi were the acts committed by all alike.

The brigades of Nasirabad and Nimuch, the particulars of whose revolt will be given at a greater length, mutinied on the 28th May and 3rd June, respectively.

At Bareli, Khan Bahadur Khan, who enjoyed a double pension from the British Government, both as a descendant of the Ruhela Chief, as a retired Sadar Amin, took the lead. Assuming the viceroyalty of the king of Delhi, he seduced the garrison of the station, consisting of the 18th and 68th infantry and 8th irregular cavalry regiments, a troop of artillery, and executed every Christian he could find. Brigadier

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Sabbold, an old respectable officer, was saluted with a volley and met an instant death. The cavalry regiment was highly devoted to its able Commander, Captain Mackenzie, and but for the evil instructions from Mohammad Shafi, a Resaldar, gained over by Bahadur Khan, would have proved of some use. The whole brigade thus revolted, and Bahadur Khan sent it under Bakht Khan, an artillery Subedar to Delhi, where he was appointed by the king as Commander-in-Chief of the rebel forces. Bahadur Khan ruled at Bareli with great oppression for three and a half months. The Hindus, as a rule, were everywhere robbed and murdered by the Musalmans. Even in his attempt to gain them over to his cause, by issue of a proclamation, he could not restrain the zealous bigottery of Islam by threatening to kill the cows of all such of them as failed to help him in extirpating the Christians.

Shahjahanpur was destined to no better fate. The 28th infantry regiment stationed there, rose simultaneously with the troops at Bareli, and surrounding all the Christian residents of the town, assembled in Church, murdered almost all of them.

At Muradabad, the 29th infantry regiment, that led by the valiant Judge, Mr. Cracroft Wilson, had once assaulted and defeated a party of the rebels from Merath, and two companies of the Rurki Sappers and Miners, was coerced by the Bareli brigade to rise in revolt, and plunder the treasury and went to Delhi along with the brigade and the

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mutinous 41st regiment from Sitapur. Majju Khan was created Nawab of Muradabad, and he murdered Christians unmercifully even after forcibly converting them to Islam. A number of Europeans was taken prisoners to Delhi and another found shelter with the Nawab of Rampur who kept them hospitably for six months.

The overthrow of the British rule at Murababad completed the acquisition of Ruhelkhand by Bahadur Khan who sent to the king of Delhi an army of 5,000 strong with Rs. 40,00,000 cash accumulated by plundering treasuries and robbing the people. This army arrived at Delhi on the 1st July, much to the relief of the wicked garrison at its most critical time.

At Hisar, Sirsa, and Hansi the district towns of the country called Hariana, there were a local light infantry regiment, a part of the 4th irregular cavalry, and some 400 sowars of the Nawabs of Jhajar and Dadri for civil duties. These forces as well as Azim Beg, prince of Delhi, employed as Customs Assistant Patrol, Rukun-ud-din thanedar and host of Musalman Gazis, suddenly rose on the 29th May, murdered most of the officers and European residents, and after plundering towns and treasuries, made their way to Delhi. Many of the towns and villages in these districts are inhabited by a race of Musalman Rajputs called Ranghars that furnished recruits to the most of the cavalry regiments. These regiments having now mutinied large number of the delinquents, returned to their homes, committed every kind of mischief and ruthlessly butchered every Christian that unfortunately fell into their hands.

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Thus, at the stations abovenamed, as well as at others in Upper India, not less than forty-five infantry regiments, with a large proportion of cavalry and artillery, besides the contingent forces of Native States, threw off their allegiance to the Government in the months of May and June, 1857; and with exception of such of them as found opportunity to commit their bloody deeds at other centres of revolt, such as Kanpur and Lakhnow, all continued to swell their bulk at Delhi till at last their number was estimated to amount to 40,000.

No sooner were the dissastrous events known to General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief at Simla, then he ordered all the available European and native forces to assemble at Ambala and coming down from the hills, himself marched to Delhi from that station on the 25th May with troops, altogether amounting to 4,000. The Merath Brigade was, in the meantime, ordered to make its junction with the above at Bagpat. General Anson died of cholera at Karnal on the 26th, and General Barnard succeeding him in the command, moved forward on the following day without waiting for the siege train which was coming from Ludhiana.

Brigadier General Wilson set out with his Brigade from Merath on the 27th and reaching Gazi-ud-din-nagar (now Gaziabad) in three days, met, fought, and defeated a considerable body of the mutinous troops. The intense heat, however, prevented him from following up the victory, and the next day the rebels returned to the battle-ground and again attacked General Wilson's forces. After a fierce artillery combat for

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two hours a general advance was ordered, the rebels could not stand it and retreated to Delhi. Next day the Sirmur battalion of Gorkhas under Major Charles Reid arrived in the Camp from Aligarh, and 100 more of the 60th Rifles came from Merath. On the 6th June the Ambala force reached Alipur, 12 miles from Delhi, and on the next day the Merath Brigade made its desired junction with it.

On the 8th June General Barnard advanced in the early morning to attack the rebels at Badli-ki-Sarai in the midway where they had taken up a strong position in old houses and walled gardens. Day was just dawning when Barnard came in sight of the position and opened fire. The fact that the enemy's artillery was of heavier calibre than that Barnard had sent to the front was soon disclosed, so he ordered the 75th Foot and 2nd Europeans to charge the rebels' guns. The onslaught was splendid, but the rebels did not flinch. Whilst this struggle for the guns was going on, General Graves' brigade attacked the enemy's left, and Hope Grant, with the cavalry and horse artillery, appeared on their rear, upon which the rebels fell back. Constantly charged by the cavalry, and fired on by the artillery, they retired within the walls of the city, baffled and humiliated with a loss of about 350 men, 26 guns, and some serviceable ammunition. A party of the rebels occupied the ridge overlooking Delhi, Barnard at once pushed on against them, sending Grave's brigade with Money's troop of horse artillery by the left road from Azadpur, and Shower's brigade with cavalry, and the rest of the artillery by the right road, whilst the

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Sirmur battalion made the front attack. The enemy were driven from the ridge by the two brigades which met at Hindu Rao's house, after which Barnard encamped his force in the old Cantonments and occupied the position he had won. General Barnard had done a good work on that eventful day, and gained and occupied the finest base of operations against the city—a position open in rear to the reinforcements which he hoped to receive, whilst commanding the plain right up to the walls. All this had not, however, been accomplished without a loss of 137 in killed and wounded, Colonel Chester, the Adjutant-General, being amongst the former.

The points taken up along the ridge were, the Flagstaff tower on the left held by a strong infantry picquet; Hindu Rao's house on the right strongly held by the Sirmur Gorkhas and two companies of the 60th Rifles; another infantry picquet at a large mosque about midway between; while on the right flank a mound commanding the Sabzi Mandi was held by a strong picquet with guns and cavalry. The canal, which ran along the rear, was watched by cavalry picquets.

On the 9th June, the Guides and Corps composed of three troops of cavalry and six companies of infantry under Colonel Henry Daly, marching from Mardan, 580 miles distant in 24 days, arrived in the camp, and within three hours of their arrival were engaged with the enemy, for, the cannonade had been going all night, and in the afternoon the mutineers moved out of the Lahori gate in force, and made a determined advance

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on the right flank. In assisting to repel the attack, the Guides pushed on in pursuit through Sabzi Mandi and Kishanganj right up to the walls of the city, but their officers, Daly, Hawes, and Quintin Battye, were wounded, the last mortally.

The relative strength of the combatant parties at this time was very much unequal; while the city was garrisoned by about 40,000 soldiers drilled and disciplined by the British, its walls were armed by 114 pieces of heavy artillery, and there were 60 more field guns with well drilled gunners; the British General had only about 3,000 British soldiers, a battalion of Gorkhas, the Corps of Guides, some remnants of native soldiers (whose fidelity was not certain) and 20 field guns. It was with this consideration that General Barnard thought he had done rightly in not following the rebels within the walls on the previous day; but he knew what was expected of him, that Lord Canning and Sir John Lawrence were of opinion and earnestly requested him that "short work might be made of Delhi." An assault was therefore ordered on the 12th, but abandoned at the last moment. It was fortunate that it was abandoned, for, after events proved that, even had the gates been carried, the force was not strong enough to hold the city.

On the 14th June, General Reid arrived in camp to assume command; but owing to ill-health he did not supersede Barnard who continued to direct operations till his death. The question of a *coup de main* was discussed for several days, but on the 18th it was decided to wait for reinforcements.

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In the interval there was a great deal of fighting. On the 12th the rebels attacked the British Camp in front and rear, but were driven back and pursued through the grounds of Metcalf's house to the walls of the city; a picquet being posted at the house, communication was established with it from the Flagstaff tower. The same day attacks made upon Hindu Rao's house and the Sabzi Mandi were repulsed; but a regiment of cavalry went over to the enemy.

On the 13th, another attack was repulsed, and on the 17th the besiegers took the initiative, their advance being led most gallantly by Reid of the Gorkhas from Hindu Rao's house and by Tomb of the Horse Artillery from the camp. A battery, which the enemy were erecting, was destroyed, and the rebels driven back into the city. The fire from their heavy guns was, however, so sharp that the success was not completely followed up.

On the 18th, the rebels were reinforced by the Nasirabad brigade that came out immediately on its arrival and attacked the British camp in rear. The loss was heavy on both sides and night fell upon the drawn battle, the rebels maintaining their position till early morning.

On the 23rd the 100th anniversary of the battle of Plassy, the day foretold as that which would witness the downfall of British rule, the rebels made a supreme effort to verify the prophecy. Fortunately the English had received that day the reinforcement of a Company of the 75th foot, four companies of the 2nd Fusiliers,

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four H. A. guns, and some Panjab infantry and cavalry, in all 850 men. The right bore the brunt of the attack, and but for the steadiness displayed by Reid and officers and men generally it would have been impossible to hold the position. It was only as the night fell, and after most desperate fighting that the rebels retired with a loss of 1,000 men.

The next day Colonel Neville Chamberlain arrived from Lahore to assume the post of Adjutant-General, and Hodson wrote of him exultingly that "he ought to be worth a thousand men to us."

On the 26th appeared the first symptom of disunion among the rebels; the 9th that had mutinied at Aligarh, fled from Delhi in great confusion and were fired upon by others from the walls. After wandering for a week they surrendered and claimed protection under Mr. Colvin's proclamation.

The British camp received reinforcements, of 1,000 Punjabis on the 28th, and of Her Majesty's 61st from Firozpur on the 1st July, raising the effective strength to 6,600 men. The rebels had their share of good fortune, for, on the 1st and 2nd July, the Ruhelkhand Brigade under Bakht Khan, entered Delhi. For the two whole days the British troops had the mortification of watching, from their batteries on the ridge, the long train of men, guns, horses, and beasts of burden of all kinds, streaming across the bridge of boats into the city, without the possiblity of preventing or even annoying them. Bakht Khan, as already stated, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the rebel forces.

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The arrival of reinforcements in the camp revived the question of an assault. It was supported by Colonel Baird Smith who came from Rurki on the 3rd July to take his place as Senior Officer of the Engineers.

He wrote : "the probabilities of success are far greater than those of failure, and the reasons justifying an assault are stronger than those which justify in action." Plans had been arranged, but on the 4th, General Barnard was seized with cholera which carried him off on the 5th. General Reid, an old Officer, in bad health, succeeded him in the command. He neither rejected nor accepted the plans, but kept them so long in contemplation, that the opporunity passed away.

On the 9th July the rebels made another grand attack in force, but were driven back, after a loss of 233 men killed and wounded on the British side. In repelling this attack, Lieutenant Hills of the Artillery (now Sir James Hills Jones) behaved with great gallantry and was badly wounded. Indeed, had it not been for his commanding officer, Major Tombs, who rushed in and shot a man who was about to cut him down, he would have been killed.

Five days later the rebels attacked the Hindu Rao's house, but after a hard-fought encounter they were driven back by a column under Brigadier Showers which moved into Sabzi Mandi, and forced them to withdraw their field artillery and to retire into the city. The old Bhairon temple called by the European soldiers the Sami House, some way down the slope

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of the ridge towards the city and within 900 yards of the Mori bastion, which had been for sometime held by the British, was the scene of this hard fighting. On this occasion, though they suffered heavily from the grape fired from the city, the besiegers pursued the rebels to within 600 yards of the walls. The British loss was 208 in killed and wounded, while the rebels were lying thick in many places and their loss was estimated at 1,000.

On the 17th July, General Reid, whose health had completely broken down, made over the command to General Archdale Wilson. Next day the rebels attacked on the Sabzi Mandi side, but were repulsed by Colonel Jones of the 60th Rifles. To prevent future attempts in that quarter, the Engineers cleared away the houses and walls, and connected the advanced posts with the main picquets on the ridge, after which there were no more attacks on the Sabzi Mandi.

On the same day when Wilson assumed the command, in consideration of the heavy losses incurred, and the impossibility of taking the place without further reinforcements, a proposal was made to raise the siege; but Colonel Baird Smith, the Chief Engineer, at once pointed out to Wilson that such a step would entail enormous calamities, and it was absolutely necessary to retain the "grip we now have on Delhi." The siege was thereupon continued and a siege train was ordered from Firozpur.

Another question of a similar nature had been under discussion between authorities in other quarters. Sir

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John Lawrence in the height of his anxiety to recapture Delhi, when Panjab had been drained of its last soldier, except a few European regiments that garrisoned the Peshawar frontier, proposed that these regiments also should be sent to Delhi, and Peshawar be made over to Dost Mohamad Khan, on the condition of its being ceded to him for ever in the case of his proving faithful. But Edwardes and Nicholson objected to the proposal on the ground that Peshawar was the anchor of the Punjab, if it were lost, the whole ship would drift to the bottom. So long as the Government possessed the capital coast towns and Peshawar on the frontier, the mutiny at Delhi and elsewhere was an internal feud which the Government could sooner or later extirpate with its mighty hands, but when its weakness was betrayed by surrender of Peshawar, there would be no end to aggressions, and the friendly Afghan, who very well knew the difference between a free gift and gift under compulsion would prove more dangerous than the disloyal army. Reference being made to the Supreme Government, Lord Canning settled the controversy by the telegram :—

"Hold on to Peshawar to the last."

On the 23rd, the rebels made one more effort in anticipation of the arrival of General Nicholson. This was directed against Ludlow Castle, but was repulsed, although the British suffered very severely.

The 1st August was the festival of Bakra Id, on which the king of Delhi used to go out to the Idgah in.

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a gorgeous procession and sacrifice a camel. This year it was determined to offer a far greater sacrifice by exterminating the kafirs. A royal salute announced the day; the rebels poured forth from the city and with intrepid fanatics shouting the Musalman battle cry, attacked the works on the right of the British position at about sunset. A deadly fire checked their advance, again and again they rallied and tried to rush the breast works, but the steady volleys stopped their charge. The firing from batteries continued the whole night, and the air rang with the wild cries of the fanatics and rolling of musketry. It was past noon the next day when the rebels retired baffled. The British loss was 46 in killed and wounded; the loss of the rebels was heavy, 127 bodies were counted in the front of a single breast work to the right of the Sami House.

On the 7th August, Brigadier-General John Nicholson arrived in advance of his troops, and on the same day the powder manufactory of the rebels was accidentally blown up.

On the 14th August, Nicholson's column arrived, and on the 25th he marched with a strong force to attack the rebels who had moved from Delhi in great strength to intercept the siege train coming from Karnal. The march through marshy grounds lasted twelve hours, and it was towards sunset ere the weary soldiers espied the rebel force, composed of the Nimach Brigade and the Kota Contingent, occupying two villages and a Sarai which were protected by guns

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and partly surrounded by water. The position was carried and the rebels, who had made for the bridge across the Najafgarh canal, were pursued and caught, 800 being killed and 13 guns captured. The next day Nicholson's brigade returned to the camp.

On the 4th September the siege guns arrived, and a few days later some more reinforcements, which increased General Wilson's troops to 8,748 men, of whom 3,317 were Europeans.

Up to this time the British army was rather the besieged than the besiegers, for the guns at their disposal were quite inadequate to compete with the heavier metal with which the rebels returned fire. Now, with fifty-four heavy guns, thirty-two of which were new arrivals, the siege might begin in right earnest; and the General and the Engineers lost no time in setting to work. Ground may be said to have been broken before Delhi on the 7th September,

This unusually laborious process was materially assisted by the nature of the ground, which was scored by a series of nalas running almost parallel to their position in the direction of the Jamna. On the night of the 7th, No. 1 siege battery was commenced; it consisted of four 24-pounders, destined to demolish the Kashmir bastion distant 850 yards; five 18-pounders, and one 8-inch howitzer, to silence the fire of the Shah bastion, distant 700 yards.

During the day and night of the 8th, the whole of these guns were got into position and commenced

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most destructive fire on the enemy's works. On the night of the 10th, No. 2 battery was constructed, and opened fire at 5½ A. M. of the 11th; it was armed with nine 24-pounders intended to breach the curtain adjoining the right flank of the Kashmir bastion, distant 500 yards, and seven 8-inch howitzers, and two 18-pounders to batter the bastion itself, destroy its masonry parapet, a small tower in the curtain, and the musketry parapet on its left face. No. 3 was armed on the night of the 11th with six 18-pounders, at a distance of 160 yards, to demolish the water bastion, and twelve 5½-inch mortars to shell the interior of the bastion. This battery opened at 1 P. M. on the 12th. No. 4 mortar battery was ready on the evening of the 9th. It was, however, ordered not to open fire until the morning of the 11th, on which date it saluted with a storm of shell, from four 10-inch and six 8-inch mortars, the Kashmir and Water-gates and bastions, the Church and Skinner's house. "At different times" says Colonel Baird Smith, "between the 7th and the 11th, these batteries opened fire with an efficiency and vigour which excited the unqualified admiration of all who had the good fortune to witness it." On the night of the 13th, the breaches were pronounced practicable, and instant orders were issued for the assault to take place the next morning. The assaulting force was divided into four columns as follows:—

1st, under Brigadier Nicholson.	Her Majesty's 75th	... 300
	1st European Battalion, foot	200
	2nd Panjab Irregular	... 450

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2nd, under Brigadier Jones, Her Majesty 61st.	Her Majesty's 8th	... 250
	2nd European Battalion, foot	250
	4th Regiment Sikhs	... 250
3rd, under Colonel Campbell, Her Majesty's 52nd.	Her Majesty's 52nd	... 200
	Kamaon Battalion	... 250
	1st Panjab Irregulars	... 500
4th or Reserve, under Brigadier Longfield, Her Majesty's 8th.	Her Majesty's 61st	... 250
	4th Sikh Rifles	... 450
	Beluch Battalion	... 300
	Jhind Maharaja's troops	... 300
	Her Majesty's 60th Rifles	200

At dawn an incessant play of artillery was opened on the walls in order to drive the enemy from the breaches and protect the column as they formed.

Nicholson after one glance to see that the 1st and 2nd columns were in position, gave the order to advance just after day break. The 1st column moved steadily forward until it reached the edge of the Jungle; then the Engineers and storming party rushed to the breach near Kashmiri bastion, and under a very heavy fire, lowered the ladders, down which the officers led their men and mounting the escarp and scrambling up the breach were soon in the work. The rebels could not stand a hand to hand encounter, but fell back on the second line. The breach at this point was won.

Simultaneously the second column carried the breach in the Water-bastion under a tremendous fire, which caused much loss, and then cleared the rampart of the enemy as far as the Kabul gate.

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Meanwhile, the explosion party under Home and Salkeld, with Sergeants Smith and Carmichel, Corporal Burgess, Bugler Hawthorne and eight native sappers, covered by 100 men of the 60th Rifles, had sped on their way to front to attack kegs of powder to, and blow in the Kashmir gate.

They advanced straight forward in the face of a very heavy fire, and each member of the party carrying a bag of 25-pounds of powder, crossed the ditch by a barrier gate, which they found open, and reached the foot of the great double gate. The bags were attached under a heavy fire, the train was ignited and gates blown in with a tremendous explosion. In this gallant exploit Burgess, Carmichel and a native sapper were killed and Salkeld and two natives were wounded; Smith and Hawthorne survived to receive the Victoria Cross.

Hearing the explosion, Campbell ordered his column to advance. It dashed forward, crossed the bridge, and entered the city just as the first and second columns had won the breaches. Campbell at once pressed on to the main guard, cleared the Water-bastion, forced his way through the Bazar and Begam Bag to the lower end of Chandani Chouk, and finally reached the Jama Masjid which he could not force for want of reinforcements, and therefore he was obliged to fall back on Begam Bag, and after holding it for an hour retreated still further to the Church.

Nicholson having gained the breach in the Kashmiri bastion massed his column on the square of the

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mainguard and turning to the right, pushed on along the foot of the walls inside the city, towards the Lahori gate under a galling fire. To do this, his column had to pass under the fire of the Burn bastion, and through a long lane every building in which was manned by sharpshooters, while the further end was commanded by two brass guns. The men captured the first of these and dashed at the second, but had to fall back; whereupon Nicholson called upon them to follow him and advance again. Before a sufficient number of men could respond, a bullet pierced the body of their illustrious leader. The wound was mortal and Nicholson knew it, but he still called upon his men to go on, but it was impossible. He had no guns and already 8 officers and 50 men had fallen in the attempt. Nothing could be done but to retire on the Kabul gate; this was done, and Jones assumed the command of the two columns, as the 2nd column carrying the breach in the Water-bastion and turning to the right, had followed almost in the footsteps of the 1st column joining them at the Kabul gate.

In the meantime, the Sirmoor battalion and the Guides made an attack upon the enemy's position, in the suburbs of Kishanganj and Paharipur, with a view of driving in the rebels and supporting the main attack by effecting an entrance at Kabul gate after it should be taken. The attack was supported by the Cavalry under Brigadier Hope Grant, 9th Lancers, and Horse Artillery under Major Tombs. Though conducted with the utmost gallantry, this attack failed in its objects.

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Thus ended the first day's operations, the result of which was that the entire space inside the city from the Water-bastion and St. James Church to the Kabul gate was held by the three columns, and 37 pieces of guns were captured on the walls. The 4th column held the batteries behind Hindu Rao's house. The success, however, had been dearly bought, the assailants having lost in killed and wounded 1,160—283 under the former head, including 7 officers.

To General Wilson, the result was discouraging, for his troops held only a short line of rampart instead of the whole city. He even thought of withdrawing to the ridge, but on the advice of Baird Smith, Chamberlain and Nicholson (who was lying mortally wounded in his tent), he decided to hold what had been taken. This decision was a wise one, for, the stationary position of the British cowed the rebels, whereas a retreat to the ridge would inevitably have roused them to energetic action.

The 15th was employed by the troops within the walls in securing the positions gained and preparing the means to shell the city and in stopping drinking and plundering.

On the 16th, the enemy evacuated Kishanganj, and the British stormed and took the magazine containing 171 guns and howitzers of large calibre and abundant ammunitions. In the afternoon the rebels made a desperate but vain attempt to recover it.

On the 19th and 18th, the Delhi Bank and other houses were occupied, and the besiegers' posts were

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brought close to the Chandni Chouk and the palace. On the latter day too an unsuccessful attempt was made to extend the right by an attack on the Lahore gate.

On the 16th the Burn bastion was taken preparatory to an attack on the Lahore gate; while, on the 20th, Sunday, the Lahore gate of the palace, which had been evacuated and was undefended, was blown in and British troops entered the fort. That same day the Jama Masjid was captured by Brind as also the Lahore gate of the city by Brigadier Jones. The Salemgarh detached work had been previously seized by the brilliant forethought of a young Lieutenant, named Aikman. The same afternoon Wilson took up his quarters in the imperial palace.

Delhi was now virtually won, although much remained to be done, both in the vicinity and the city itself; while so large the casualities had been that Wilson had little over 3,000 men left fit for service

On the 19th, Bakht Khan, the head of the rebel army, represented to the king that his safety lay only in flight and suggested him to accompany the army and renew the war in the open country. The king acted upon this advice so far as to remove himself to and take refuge in the Humayan's tomb $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south of the city, but rejecting the latter part of it as he was quite unable to carry it out, allowed the army to depart without him. On the 20th, Colonel Hodson obtained permission to bring in the old man

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on the condition of his life being spared and performed his task with tack and discretion. That night the king slept a prisoner in his Begam's palace in the fort.

The following day Hodson learnt that two of the king's sons and gradson lay concealed in the vicinity of Humayun's tomb, and was allowed to go and bring them in also. This time there was no stipulation for their lives. Hodson rode out with a hundred of his troopers, found the fugitives, persuaded them to surrender, disarmed their numerous followers, placed the arms on carts and the prisoners on an ekka and led the long cavalcade in the direction of the Lahori gate. They had safely accomplished great part of the journey when a crowd began to press closely on the troopers evidently with the view of rescuing the princes ; whereupon Hodson halted the cart, made them descend and shot them with his own hand.

In the meantime Brind was commissioned to clear the city of the murderers and incendiaries who still lurked in it. This he did completely, and the restoration of regular rule was announced by the appointment of Colonel Burn as the Governor of the city.

John Nicholson lingered on in great agony for eight days and lived long enough to witness the complete success of the plans to originating and accomplishing which he had so much contributed He died on the 23rd with the reputation of being the most successful administrator, the greatest soldier, and the most perfect master of men in India.

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No sooner the capture of Delhi had been thoroughly assured than Wilson despatched a corps of 2,790 men, under the command of Colonel Edward Greathed of the 8th Foot, to open the country between Delhi and Agra, and to join Sir Colin Campbell at Kanhpur or its vicinity.

The people of Delhi had expiated, many times over, the crimes of the mutineers. Tens of thousands of men, women and children were wandering, for no crime, homeless, over the country. Of what they had left behind at home, the valuable articles were ferreted out, and the rest smashed to pieces by the soldiers. The military governor could do little to restrain the passions of those who surrounded him ; Sir Theophilus Metcalfe was appointed Special Commissioner, but he was the foremost in the work of retribution. The authorities were all invested by the Supreme Government with full powers of life and death. These Judges were in no mood to show mercy, almost all who were tried were condemned ; and almost all who were condemmed, were sentenced to death. A four square gallows was erected at Kotwali in the centre of the city and numerous culprits were hanged every day.

To many it seemed that not enough had been done to avenge the massacres of the 11th May and to vindicate the outraged majesty of the imperial race ; there were men who urged that the accursed city should be rased to the ground. But there was one who pleaded in fearless and earnest tone for justice and mercy. In many a letter to the Governor-General and to the authorities at Delhi, John Lawrence insisted that

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the great mass of the citizens had nothing to do with the rebellion and should be encouraged to return to their homes, that the martial law should cease, and plundering be summarily stopped. He gained his end at last, and in February 1858, the Delhi territory was transferred to the Punjab Government, the citizens came back; and the whole population gradually learned to feel that they were under strong and merciful rule.

On the 27th January, the old king of Delhi was brought before a Court-Martial, in the Diwan Khass, and put upon his trial for rebellion and complicity in the murder of Europeans. The trial lasted more than two months. The substance of his defence was that he had been a mere instrument in the hands of the mutineers. On the 29th March he was found guilty and sentenced to transportation for life. The sentence was just for the king had not saved, as he might have done, the lives of those who had been brought captives to his palace. He was sent to Rangoon where he died on the 7th November 1862. Thus passed away Bahadur Shah, the last of the Mugal emperors and with him all the honors, dignities and privileges enjoyed by his House.

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CHPTER IV.

Kanhpur.

At Kanhpur, the oldest and one of the most important military stations of the North-Western Provinces, were the 1st, 53rd and 56th Regiments of Native Infantry, the 2nd Native light cavalry and 61 English Gunners, with six guns, quartered along the right bank of the Ganges. There were also some invalids and all the families of the 32nd Queen's (European) Regiment stationed at Lakhnow.

The Commander of the Division was General Sir Hugh Massy Wheeler, a most distinguished and experienced Officer of 54 years' service, possessing so great an influence upon and popularity among the soldiers that had the mutiny been not a national and political revolution, the forces under him would not, in all probability, have mutineed.

Equally aware that his native Regiments were sure to follow the example of the Merath and Delhi troops, and that the means of defence at his disposal were almost none, he resolved immediately as he learnt the outbreak at those stations on the 13th May, to select, fortify, and store with provisions a place that would serve as a rallying point and the means of defence to al Christians till the arrival of succour.

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Two vacant barracks formerly used as Hospitals of a European Regiment, situated on a plain to the south of the Cantonments, were selected with the double advantage of being easily approached by the succour from Allahabad and opposite to the direction of the road to Delhi which the troops on rising were believed to take. On the south of them stood a row of other unfinished barracks at a distance of 400 yards to serve as defence. The selection of the spot was soon followed by fortifying it with earthwork and collecting provisions.

Nana, the Chief of Bithur, something about whom has been said in a previous Chapter, was on very friendly terms with Mr. Hillerston, the Collector and other officers. In addition to his courteous manners, possession of a large estate and associating with Europeans what led these officers to believe his interests to be identical with those of the Government, was the fact of his having invested Rs. 50,00,000 in Government security; but subsequent inquiry proved that during the time between the annexation of Oudh and June 1857, he had very cunningly disposed of gradually all this money except Rs. 3,00,000. When the news of the Merath outbreak reached Kanhpur, he showed great sympathy by advising Hillerstone to send the families of himself and other officers to Bithur where he promised to protect them against the would-be mutineers. Hillerstone declined this offer, but his another proposal to organize 1,500 men to act against the rebels, was consented to by the Collector and carried out to certain extent.

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Hearing on the 21st May that the 2nd Cavalry Regiment was to rise that night, General Wheeler removed all European residents to the intrenchments, and attempted to convey the treasury there, but the native guard promised to protect it or in other words refused to make over the charge. It was at this juncture that in defiance to the instructions of Sir Henry Lawrence and Martin Gubbins not to trust Nana, 200 of his Marahtas armed with matchlocks and accompanied with two guns, were posted to guard the treasury.

The removal of the families to the trenches and arrival of the Marahta troops at the treasury, caused an alarm in which, on one hand, guns were brought and put in the intrenchments, and on the other the native troops expressed dissatisfaction for beinig distrusted. Four native officers reported that the Regiment was ready to rise, and Major Vibart of the 2nd Cavalry hastening to the lines, succeeded in persuading them to return to duty.

Sir Henry Lawrence had been requested to send European troops, and though so circumstanced as not to part with a single armed man, he willingly sent 84 men of the 32nd under Captain Moore, who arrived on the 22nd May from Lackhnow. From 31st May to 2nd June parties of 15 men of the Madras Fusiliers and 100 of the 84th sent from Calcutta, arrived at Kanhpur ; and Wheeler entertained a hope that knowing the advance of European troops from Calcutta, the natives would not venture to revolt, and that the crisis had passed. Under this belief he forwarded over 50 men of the 84th to Lakhnow. These men started on the morning of the 3rd June, and

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in the evening, half of the Oudh Field Battery under Lieutenant Ashe, which had been sent from Lakhnow to Fatehgarh but forced to retire by the mutiny of the accompanying native troops, marched into Kanhpur, and their three guns were placed in the intrenchments; but the native gunners, who hitherto acted admirably, deserted afterwards.

On the night of the 4th June, the 2nd Cavalry mutinied on the pretence that they could not bear the insult of distrust and riding their horses, and setting fire to the officers' bungalows, they took 36 elephants and some carts from the Commissariat compound and going to the treasury, began to load them with trunks containing Rs. 8,50,000. The Nana's Marahtas as well as the guards and the 1st infantry far from offering resistance, joined them in the action. In reply to the entreaties of their European Officers, they told them plainly to return with safety to intrenchments, as they intended no harm to them, but requested them not to interfere in their course which had been decided upon. Having secured the treasury, the two Regiments took hold of the Magazine with all its valuable contents, and let loose the prisoners of the Jail who spreading instantly in the Cantonments, put it on blaze and committed havoc upon all whom they came in contact with.

The other two regiments, the 53rd and 56th, remained quiet for twelve hours till after the next morning's parade when on being invited by the mutineers to go and take their share of plunder, they readily accepted the offer Four officers being

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sent by the General to the 53rd, were fired at, and one of them was actually killed. The General believing them to be faithful, had also ordered a Company of European soldiers with Ashe's half battery to support them against the mutineers; but just at the corps started, their conduct was known, and they had to return with ill-treated officers and also some faithful native officers. At 9 o'clock these regiments attempted an assault on the barracks, but only three shots of guns succeeded in dispersing them. Their main body accompanied with Oudh gunners went to Nawabganj, seven miles to the north where the jail and treasury were and joined the other rebels, but 80 faithful soldiers turning round at a long distance, came to the intrenchments and served with loyalty throughout the disturbance.

General Wheeler now had the bare satisfaction to think that the mutineers loaded with riches and stores, would soon go off to Delhi without causing personal injury to the residents, and he, with the little garrison, furnished with a month's provisions and Rs. 1,00,000 cash, would pass his time with safety until the arrival of reinforcements.

None of the four regiments assembled at Nawabgunj, showed any personal malice to Englishmen, and actually left that place and encamped at Kallyanpore seven miles distant on the Delhi road. A deputation of officers of the regiments from their camp waited on Nana Sahib and entreated him to join and lead them to Delhi. But Nana's aims were much higher than to be a chief under the Dehli king whom

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he wished to be a rival of and not a subordinate to. However, he cunningly avoided to check the ardent desire of the soldiery to join their brethren at Delhi and falsely promised to comply with their wishes. In order to detain them, he represented that their European officers recognized every one of them, and in the case of the rebellion ending in a failure, each one would be hunted down in the remotest corner of the world, and thus convinced them of the necessity of extirpating the officers before leaving Kanhpur. The men of the Oudh artillery, moreover, informed them that there was much treasure in the intrenchments, that large quantity of powder and guns still remained in the magazines, and that forty boat load of shot and shell was lying in the canal: and it was very unwise to go without taking possession of these things. These efforts were at last successful, and the rebels returned to Kanhpur on the morning of the 6th June.

Nana encamped on a spot in the centre of the Cantonment, raised two standards, one dedicated to Muhammad and the other to Hanuman. Fifty Sawars were sent to kill the Christians of the station and general order was issued to plunder the Kanhpur Nawab, and natives suspected of being in favour of the English.

The British Officers hitherto believed Nana as their friend and even his junction with the mutineers was considered as an act done under compulsion, but his letter of the 7th June, in which he clearly declared his intention of an attack put the matters to light,

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and the officers learnt with mortification that he was only a deadly enemy disguised as a friend.

The English party in the intrenchments consisted of 210 European soldiers, 44 native musicians, 100 military and 100 civil officers, 20 loyal native officers and soldiers, 50 private servants and 376 women and children. It was the presence of the last named helpless creatures that confined to the place the men who would have easily fought their way to Allahabad or Agra

Guns at once began to play upon the British garrison on the morning of the 7th, and their number speedily increased by fresh supplies from the magazine. Nana assumed the sovereignty, and in that capacity raised the native officers to the higher ranks of Generals and Colonels. The force, originally 3,000, continued to augment by arrivals of mutineers from Oudh, of the 6th infantry regiment from Allahabad, and of the hordes of ill-disposed people from the neighbouring districts.

Day and night the enemy hurled down showers of shell, shot, and bullets, and the ever lessening number of defenders sent back a feeble discharge. The poor besieged were exposed to various terrible sufferings. From insufficiency of space, men, women, and children were huddled together in rooms which were divided by feet and inches to give shelter to every claimant. The scarcity of water to be fetched from one well under incessant fire and extreme heat of weather added greatly to injury and inconvenience. The poor defences hastily thrown, were riddled by the

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fire of the first week during which 59 gunners, all that the garrison possessed, were killed or disabled by wounds. Offensive odour arising from the dead bodies of men and animals, intensified by heat, made the climate extremely unhealthy, and crowds of insects invited by decomposed matter, turned the place unfit for habitation. Inability to go out necessitated to keep the dead bodies which were disposed of after long time when opportunity afforded. The provisions fell short before the expiry of ten days and the ration of every individual had to be reduced to a mere handful. Many of the guns were soon disabled, one had lost its muzzle, two had their sides battered, and a fourth had been knocked off its carriage. Heat, apoplexy, fever, hunger and thirst, added to exposure to enemy's constant fire, made great destruction.

On the 10th, 11th and 12th June, 142 Europeans, men, women, and children, mostly the fugitives from Fatehgarh, were captured by the rebels and brought to Nana's camp. He ordered all of them to be massacred, and they were ruthlessly butchered with great torture.

On the 13th June, at night, a red hot shot struck the thatched roof of one of the barracks in which women, children, sick and wounded, were lying, burned everything and caused a dreadful ravage. Soldiers running from their posts dashed into the double flames and by rescuing their friends, did a heroic service to humanity and to their country ; still 40 of the unfortunate victims were consumed by the fire.

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On the 21st, a tremendous attack was made by the enemy who took possession of the three empty barracks on the north. They were driven out of the barracks by Captain Moore and displaced from the south-west by a few rounds of canister and file firing. About midday, on the next day, an ammunition waggon was put to fire by a shot of the enemy, and Lieutenant Delafosse assisted by two soldiers, who fetched water, extinguished the fire and saved the other waggons.

Several desperate attacks of the rebels having been successively repulsed, Nana sent, on the evening of the 24th June, a woman, named Mrs. Greenway, with a lettter offering a safe passage to Allahabad, to such of the garrison as were unconnected with Lord Dalhousie's acts; and the necessity of saving the women and children compelled the English to accept the offer. At a conference in which Azimulla Khan and Jwala Parshad, on the part of Nana and Moore, Whiting and Rocke on the part of General Wheeler met, it was agreed upon, that on the condition of surrendering the position, guns and treasure, the garrison would be provided with boats and provisions at Sati Choura Ghat for voyage to Allahabad, and allowed to go with their arms and 60 rounds of ammunition. A treaty was concluded and Mr. Todd, Nana's tutor, had it signed by him in his camp. On the 26th June, Officers examined the boats on the riverside and returned unmolested. Early on the 27th, bullock carts, elephants, and palanquins were provided for women, children and invalids, and they were comfortably seated in them, armed men accompanied them on foot, and whole party was sur-

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rounded by mutineers ostensibly for escorting them. At 8 A. M., they embarked in 40 boats and nothing extraordinary happened till every one had taken a seat Suddenly, then a bugle sounded from the temple where Tantia Topi managed the affair, two guns hitherto hidden behind houses were brought and opened fire upon the unfortunate crew, and mutinous soldiers coming from every direction, poured down volleys successively. Some men left the boats and attempted to swim, but rebels instantly hunted them down in water. The thatches on some boats took fire and all the boatmen fled away. A few Englishmen succeeded in pushing their boats to the opposite bank, but there they were attacked by the 17th infantry and a cavalry from Oudh. All the boats, except one that had escaped, were now overtaken and their male occupants were brutally murdered all at once. The females and children, 125 in number, were taken to Nana's camp and were kept at Subada to be killed 18 days subsequently with greater disgrace and tortures.

Proud of his success in brutality, Nana celebrated his victory by a grand parade of all the mutineers, now numbering 10,000 on the Subada plain, had the salutes of 21, 19, and 17 guns fired for himself, his brother, Bala Rao as Governor-General and Jwala Parshad as Commander-in-Chief, respectively, and had proclaimed himself by beat of drums as the sovereign of the land.

The one boat that had escaped destruction, managed to push on under the enemy's fire from both banks and also from other boats behind. Two officers were killed

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in a conflict near Muzaffargarh, 8 miles down, and fourteen that had left the boat to oppose the enemy, could not catch it again. The boat was overtaken by a fresh and strong reinforcement of the enemy at Sheorajpur, 30 miles down, and the unfortunate victims were transferred to carts and taken to Kanhpur. On arrival, the men, 60 in number, were shot down on the spot, and 25 women and 4 children were added to 125 captured before. The whole lot was now sent to Bibigarh where they were forced to grind the corn and fed on coarse and scanty food till they were finally slaughtered just before the arrival of the victorious British troops.

Nana going to Bithur again celebrated his glory by firing enormous number of guns as salutes in honor of the king of Delhi, his late father, Baje Rao Peshwa, himself, his mother, and his wife.

Of the fourteen heroes that had lost the boat and run for some miles, parallel to the river, ten were killed while fighting with the rebels and remaining four—Mowbray Thomson, Delafosse, Murphy and Sullivan—succeeded in outswimming the rebels and gaining the protection of Maharaja Digbije Singh of Baiswara who sheltered them hospitably for 28 days and escorted them safely to an English troop passing close-by.

While Nana thus vainly thought he had re-established the Marahta power and regained the long lost Peshwaship, Major Renaud and General Havelock left Allahabad for Kanhpur on the 30th June and 7th July, respectively. The former had 820 men, Europeans and Sikhs, under him, while the latter commanded 1,185, mostly Europeans. A separate party of 100 men and 2

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guns was sent by steamer on the 3rd July under Captain Spurgin. Major Renaud having to quell disturbances and punish the offenders on the way, marched slowly, and Havelock proceeded with all possible speed, so that the two armies made a Junction about Khaga and reached Baland on the 12th July.

The rebel army, consisting of 1,500 infantry, 500 cavalry, 12 guns, and 1,500 Marahtas, left Kanhpur on the 8th July and passed Fatehpur on the morning of the 12th just at the time the British army had arrived at Balanda only 5 miles distant.

A battle ensued, in which the rebels sustained a signal defeat, twelve guns, a great number of muskets, all kinds of store and ammunition, treasure and camp equipage, fell into the hands of the victorious. In the baggage there were numerous English articles, particularly the dresses of females that gave a clue to the brutal barbarities of the rebels, and made the retributive army more furious for revenge. After a halt, on which the captured guns and other articles were collected, the British army resumed its march on the 14th when numerous symbols testifying disastrous flight of the rebels, sueh as standing tents, chests of cartridges and several other articles were found on the road.

Another battle was fought at Oung on the 15th July, only 5 miles further on, and as the rebels had previously strengthened their position, here they fought with greater perseverance. The volunteers, commanded by Captain Barrow, were in advance, but finding their way obstructed, galloped back. Tytler

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and Renaud then charged the enemy, but the latter was shot in thigh and died on the second day. Maude's battery now much enlarged, poured an incessant fire which they could not stand, and were therefore defeated after two hours' struggle.

Not more than two hours after gaining the field, information reached that a strong body of the rebels was intrenched on the other side of the Pandu river which the British army had to cross by a bridge and the rebels intended to destroy it. March re-commenced with utmost alacrity, and on passing a *nala*, three miles distant, the intrenchments of the rebels became visible. Their heavy guns at once opened fire, the guns of smaller calibre with the English could not reply them adequately, therefore, they advanced steadily under a continuous fire and bringing the enemy within their range, worked their guns so effectually that the guns of the enemy were silenced in a few minutes. Their silence was a signal for the Fusiliers to advance and dashing upon the bridge they drove the enemy from the field and gained complete victory. The guns, while passing the bridge, treated the rebels with a passing volley. In both actions the British loss amounted to 30 only.

The army bivouacked for sometime on the field and was so exhausted by the day's hard work that no one touched the food offered to him. But the intelligence that enraged by successive defeats of his legions, Nana had prepared himself at the head of 7,000 men to dispute their entry in Kanhpur, roused every one

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to fresh energy and what stimulated the gallant troops to constant exertion was the hope of rescuing the English women and children in Nana's captivity. They marched 16 miles in the latter part of the night and the following morning, and on reaching Maharajpur, Kanhpur was still 16 miles distant. Halting under trees, they hastily took a scanty meal, a slight rest, and then marched again at 2 P. M. Barrow was sent in advance and two faithful native soldiers coming at the risk of their lives, gave every information about the enemy's position. The army moved in battle form ; the heat was so very intense that water was wanted at almost every step and many a gallant soldier lost their lives. A march of two miles brought the enemy's position in sight, every point was well defended and guns were directed to the road on which the army had to advance. Going along this road would have exposed them to concentrated fire and brought on destruction ; therefore, the General allowed the cavalry to march directly and mask the movement of the great bulk of troops that detoured to the right to take the enemy's flank. This admirable scheme had its desired effect, while the enemy poured their volley of shot and shell upon the cavalry, the main body, consisting of artillery and cavalry, moved on swiftly without molestation, soon gained the turning point and then wheeling up into one line with artillery, marched down upon the foe. They could not, however, silence the deadly fire opened from two batteries each of four well protected guns, therefore, the Highlanders under Colonel Hamilton burst forward like an eager

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pack of hounds and before a shot could be fired and a shout uttered, they were over the mound and in the village, took possession of the guns and fiercely inflicted dreadful slaughter among the rebels. With the same gallantry they rushed through pools and muds and the west battery also was in their hands.

Now there remained one very heavy gun, with two smaller pieces supervised by Nana himself conspicuously seated on an elephant and encouraging the troops with country music. So terribly did the big one vomit fire that a single discharge of it killed 6 men of the 64th in their first advance. General Havelock then spoke to the 64th and 84th in an inspiring tone:— "that gun must be taken with bayonets, no firing, and recollect, I am with you!" The two regiments readily responded the call, and though seriously injured by four grapes successively discharged, their charge was irresistible, the rebels gave way and the guns were in their hands. The artillery then following chased the mutineers to the town. Nana crossing the canal, escaped to Bithur and the victorious English passed the night on the plain of Subada.

Now comes the worst part of the Chapter, the slaughtering of 180 Europeans, mostly women and children, hitherto confined with most barbarous ill-treatment. In the torturous agonies they still hoped, that their countrymen might come and relieve them, they did come at last; but not to relieve them, but to revenge their miserable deaths. Nana was aware that on his final defeat the captives of Bibigarh would serve as evidence of his most inhuman atrocities, and there-

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fore on the evening of the 15th July, when his select troops returned, beaten and baffled his grief was at its height and the shame and ignominy of his disastrous fall in the field he wreaked his vengeance upon helpless unarmed prisoners. Five male Europeans were first murdered in his presence, and a party of the 6th infantry (guilty of the bloodshed of their officers at Allahabad) were ordered to shoot the women and children through windows of the house. They went, but the very idea of striking at persons of tender sex and age, made them shrink from the act, for, murderers, indeed they were, but not inhuman and coward. The task was, then, assigned to butchers who finished it with utmost unmerciful barbarity. Bayonets, swords, clubs, butcher's knives, axes and such other arms were tried with exultation for display of military skill in destroying their victims. Infants were flung upwards and cut by swords or tossed with bayonets, and the women were butchered like beasts by cutting throats, severing limbs, piercing through breasts and knocking down the brain. The heap of corpses, quivering limbs and alive children, was then thrown into a well.

Next morning, Tytler went to reconnoitre and brought information that the enemy had deserted the city, but snortly before his return a tremendous explosion proclaimed that they had blown up the magazine before leaving the station. After breakfast the army entered Kanhpur, but instead of having the satisfaction to rescue their county-people, had the mortification to

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see the most horrible and heart rending scene of the room of confinement filled with ankledeep blood and the well with its bleeding limbs and bodies.

Enraged at the horrible sight of the bleeding remains of their country-people, the British soldiers furiously fell upon the accursed city and began to plunder its wretched inhabitants. General Havelock, however, with all mercy and moderation, appointed a provost Marshal and threatened the soldiers by the issue of a general order that any one found plundering, will be hanged in the uniform. He also put an effectual check upon their drinking which had proved very injurious at Allahabad.

A rumour was afloat in the British camp that Nana was prepared to defend his fortified castle of Bithur with 5,000 troops and 45 guns, but it proved to be entirely false. On the contrary it was discovered that disheartened by the total desertion of his troops, he had left the place at night under the pretence of immolating himself in the Ganges. Taking his family with him he embarked a boat and crossing the midstream, extinguished the lights and escaped to the other bank of the river. The Gangaputr Brahmins, who were watching his departure, when satisfied of his disappearance, freely plundered his palace and took away everything they could.

Nana, however, did not fly from Bithur before committing a crowning act of his barbarous cruelty. A Christian woman, named Mrs. Carter, had been confined in his palace and kindly treated by

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the females of his family during her childbirth. Nana ordered to put her and her new born infant to death and it was done accordingly.

A party under Major Stephenson going to Bithur on the 19th July, burnt the palaces, took possession of everyting found therein and brought a large number of guns to the camp.

Under the apprehension of fresh attacks from the enemy, a spot was selected near Nawabganj and fortified with intrenchments. The encampment of the troops in that locality was doubly advantageous by removal of the soldiers from the city where they would be tempted to do evils.

On the 20th July, Colonel Neil arrived from Allahabad with about 300 men; and Captain Spurgin's steamer also reached Kanhpur on the same day.

Having entrusted the defence of Kanhpur to Neil, Havelock crossed the Ganges on the 25th, and twice attempted to relieve, with his little force of 1500 men, the beleaguered garrison of Lakhnow, defeating the rebels at Unau and Basharatganj in the first, and again at Bisharatganj in the second attempt. Nearly half of the force was lost in these glorious actions, and Havelock finding himself incapable to move in the country, swarming with rebels, had no other recourse than to fall back on Kanhpur which he did on the 13th August.

His retreat proved advantageous, as General Neil, in the meantime had been threatened by enemies from both sides; Nana had re-occupied Bithur with the strength of about 4,000 rebels, mostly from the

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mutinied regiments, and another party of the insurgents was encamped on the Subada plain. Neil was unable to leave his intrenched position to attack one party without leaving that position exposed to the attack of the other. Encouraged by the arrival of Havelock, Neil moved out on the 15th and forced the rebels to fly from the Subada plain on the next morning Havelock attacked Bithur with a force scarcely one-third of that of the enemy and drove out Nana and his commander, Tantia Topi.

On the 17th it was announced that Sir James Outram had been appointed to the command of Kanhpur. Reinforcements in small parties had been gradually coming from the 3rd August, and on the 16th September, Outram himself reached Kanhpur, but instead of assuming the command of the army, he waived his rank in favour of General Havelock, and contented himself on accompanying the force to Lakhnow in his civil capacity as Chief Commissioner.

The force now amounted to 3,179 men of all arms, with whom Havelock crossed the Ganges on the 19th and marched on to Lakhnow on the 21st, leaving Colonel Wilson with 400 troops to hold Kanhpur. What Havelock and Outram did at Lakhnow, is known as the first relief of the garrison there, and is to be related in the next Chapter.

On the 3rd November, Sir Colin Campbell came to Kanhpur with the avowed purpose of relieving Lakhnow. But Kanhpur in the meantime had been so much threatened by the advance from Kalpi of the

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Gwalior Contingent and Dinapur rebels, headed by Tantia Topi, that it became a question why should not his decision undergo a change. Striking a blow to these mutineers, was considered of such an importance that even Sir James Outram, as representative of the beleaguered garrison, wrote from Lakhnow :—"We can manage to screw on till near the end of November on further reduced rations ; it is so obviously to the advantage of the state that the Gwalior rebels should be first effectually destroyed that our relief should be of secondary consideration." Sir Colin was, however, firm in his resolution and proceeded on to Lakhnow for the second relief on the 9th November, leaving General Windham with only 500 Europeans and a few Sikhs to protect Kanhpur which was not quite out of danger before the Commander-in-Chief returned and totally defeated the rebels on the 6th December 1857.

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CHAPTER V.

Lakhnow.

The troubles in Oudh began from a mistake of Dr. Wells, the Surgeon of 48th N. I., stationed at Lakhnow, coming to the regimental dispensary on a day in the beginning of April 1857, forgetfully touched a phial of medicine with lips and offended the men of the regiment who raised a loud complaint. The Colonel of the regiment broke the bottle in their presence and reprimanded the doctor with instruction not to do so again; the men appeared satisfied for the present, but the matter did not end here, and Dr. Wells's bungalow was burnt down a few days subsequently.

On the 1st May the recruits of the 7th Oudh Irregular Infantry, formerly in service of the ex-king, refused to take the cartridges, and though it was explained to the recruits as well as to the whole regiment on a parade that they were not the new cartridges but only those that they had been using, yet the order was not obeyed and the regiment plainly told that they were to follow the example of the whole army.

A seditious letter of the 7th, instigating to mutiny, addressed to the 48th, was discovered and brought to Sir Henry Lawrence on the 3rd May through the fidelity of some men of the latter corps, and in the evening

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it was reported that Lieutenant Meecham of the 7th had been assaulted by four men of his regiment which was bent upon active mutiny and threatened to murder its officers.

Lawrence was not a man to be idle spectator of such outrages and promptly marched with all the troops of the station. Her Majesty's 32nd foot, the 13th, 48th and 71st N. I., the 7th cavalry and a battery of 8 guns, to the quarters of the mutinous regiment, 7 miles distant, and took it so completely with surprise that 120 men were disarmed and taken prisoners and others fled away. The mutiny at Lakhnow was thus crushed in the bud for a time.

In the evening of the 12th May, Sir Henry convened a public Darbar to reward the loyal natives who furnished the information and helped him in the bold action, and to assure the army that their fears on the score of religion were entirely groundless.

He addressed the assembly with an eloquent Hindustani speech, showing with what bigottery and tyranny were treated the Hindus by the Musalman rulers, and the Musalmans by the Sikhs; with what benevolence and religious toleration did the British Government rule India for more than a century; how the native and European soldiers had worked together with utmost sympathy and cordiality in all the Indian warfore; pointing out the extent of the power of England which it was futile for any one to attempt at overthrowing, and in conclusion, advising them not to be misled by selfish knaves but to be staunch in their devotion

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and fidelity to the state. Calling, then, the officers and men who had distinguished themselves with good services on the 3rd May he shook hands with them and presented them with dresses and cash, the substantial testimonials of his appreciation of their fidelity.

So true, emphatic and influential were the words uttered by the noble and energetic speaker that a greater number of the assembly, whatever may have been the feelings of each individual on his arrival, returned as loyal subjects of the Government; and there can be no doubt that, had not the horrible misdeeds simultaneously committed at Meruth and Delhi, made the movements of the soldiers decisive, these impressive sentences would have made a permanent effect.

But no sooner were those direful events learnt by Sir Henry Lawrence on the 14th May, than he was fully convinced that the breach between the Government and its soldiery had been so widened that no conciliating measure would be of any avail, and that the force of arms was the only means with which it would be possible to settle the matter.

Centralization of highest Civil and Military powers in one individual was absolutely necessary at this critical time; but Lawrence finding that though Chief Commissioner of Oudh, he possessed no powers in the military branch of the service, requested Lord Canning to give him plenary military powers with the promise not to abuse them, and was appointed Brigadier-General of the British Forces in Oudh with full military powers.

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At the same time he advised the Governor-General to summon reinforcements of European troops from Barma, China, Ceylone and elsewhere and to procure the aid of hardy Gorkhas from the hills.

The principal buildings at Lakhnow were occupied and guarded by the native troops, and the Europeans were quartered at a distance protected from the heat of the Indian sun. Immediately, on assuming the command of the army, Lawrence changed the disposal of the troops in a more suitable manner and made the detachments of the natives incapable of doing any harm by placing strong European guards on their heads at three more important positions Number of these posts was reduced from eight to four ; Machi Bhawan, already a fortified building, was garrisoned by a company of the 2nd and 30 guns, all the military stores were removed to it, and provisions for European troops were also rapidly collected in it ; 130 Europeans, with 6 guns, were put in position to overawe at any time the 200 native soldiers that guarded the treasury in the Residency compound, commonly called the Baily Guard, a very extensive building or rather a cluster of buildings situated on an elevated site ; 400 Europeans and natives, with 20 guns, were located at a post that commanded the two bridges between Machi Bhawan and the Residency; and the traveller's Bungalow, which was the fourth post between the Residency and the cantonments, was occupied by two squadrons of the 2nd Oudh Cavalry and 6 guns. Remainder of the 32nd, 340 in number, and both the European and Native artilleries still remained in the cantonment ; and the 7th N. L. C. lived in their lines at

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Mudkipur, 7 miles from the city. On the 21st May, 84 men of the 32nd were sent, at the pressing request of General Wheeler, to help the European residents at Kanhpur.

The anticipated rise of the troops at Kanhpur having been announced by a telegram on the 23rd, and the troops at Lakhnow being reported on the next day as ready to rise, all the Christians of the station and invalids and families of the 32nd, were removed to the Residency, and the clerks, copyists, and such other able-bodied men were armed, drilled and put under officers to do duties.

The buildings around the garrison posts that would give shelter to a besieging army, were dismantled, but the mosques, as places of sanctity, were left untouched at the particular order of Sir Henry Lawrence, though these mosques subsequently proved much destructive to the garrison as it was from them that the mutineers continued to pour deadly fire from 40 cannons on the besieged.

Towards the end of May, Martin Gubbins suggested to disarm the native regiments at Lakhnow, but Sir Henry wisely refused to do so on the ground that he being the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, was bound to look after the safety of the whole province and disarming of three or four regiments at the capital, even if it could be accomplished with the help of a single European regiment, far from checking the progress of the mutiny, would give offence to all other regiments stationed in the districts and drive them to desperation.

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Sir Henry Lawrence was in his Cantonment residence at Mariaon with some guests on the evening of the 30th May, when Captain Wilson, as informed by a faithful native, reported to him that the native regiments were to break out in mutiny at the signal of the 9 o'clock gun that evening. Shortly after the sound of the gun was heard and Lawrence smilingly spoke to Wilson, "Your friends are not punctual," the rattle of the musketry fire announced that the information was quite true, and the storm had actually burst out.

It was the main body of the 71st that first revolted, they were joined by nearly half of the 48th and a small number of the 13th. The officers' bungalows were soon blazing with fire and Brigadier Handscomb, who hastened to the lines to restore order, was murdered instantly. Lieutenant Grant being shot while on a picket duty, was sheltered by a friendly Subedar under his *Charpai*, but a merciless Hawaldar dragged out and brutally slaughtered him on the spot.

Henry Lawrence ever vigilant, immediately rode to the scene of action, but before taking an offensive measure, he obstructed the passage of the rebels to the city by putting a company of Europeans with two guns at the corner of the road by which they could reach the bridge. The rest of the force was then sent to attack the rebles who once advanced to meet them but were soon driven with successive volleys of grapes first back to the lines and then to Mudkipur. Lieutenant Hardinge, with his irregular cavaly, was sent in pursuit but his troops failing to do duty, was obliged to return.

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After firing the cavalry lines at Mudkipur and finding that they were not pursued, the rebles again attempted to come to Lakhnow at 4 A. M. Sir Henry Lawrence again advanced to meet them with 200 Europeans, 2 guns, the 7th L. Cavalry of Hardinge and a handful of Daly's Galls. On passing the lines, 500 loyal soldiers, the remnants of the three mutinous Regiments joined them. The 2 troops of the 7th Cavalry at once went over to the enemy, the artillery opened fire and the rebels again fled from the field pursued by the Europeans to Mudkipur and by the Cavalry to 20 miles further towards Sitapur. Lientenant Raleigh, a young man of 14 years, was found dead at Mudkipur, and 60 mutineers were captured and brought prisoners. Six of them, along with the Havaldar, who had betrayed Lieutenant Grant, were hung immediately on return. One advantageous result of the movement was that the Station was cleared of all the ill-disposed troops, and out of 3,500 Natives there remained only about a quarter of that number, really loyal and faithful. The Officers of the 48th were in the mess at the time of the mutiny and but for the loyalty of 100 men of their Regiment who safely escorted them to Machi Bhawan, would have lost their lives in the tumult. But, alas, even these men deserted as the mutiny progressed.

The conduct of the Natives having become very dangerous, the speedy punishment of every delinquent was absolutely necessary to secure the safety of Europeans, the Martial law was, therefore, proclaimed throughout the province on the 1st June 1857.

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Owing to the ill-health of Lawrence from the 31st May, the business was conducted for twelve days by a provisional council presided over by Mr. Gubbins, and he wished to carry out his long cherished scheme of disarming the remaining Native troops; but as his colleagues in the council did not agree with him in disarming, the troops were at lost allowed to go to their homes for certain length of time on leave. But Sir Henry Lawrence fully aware that it was impossible to manage the affairs without the help of Natives as the Europeans were too few to grapple with the difficulties, immediately on his recovery not only recalled those who were permitted to go on leave, but also issued a circular summoning to Lakhnow all the Company's pensioned soldiers in the province. More than 500 men of great experience responded to the call and were kindly received by Sir Henry Lawrence. He reminded them of their permanent connection with the Government established by their long valuable services and selecting 170 of them usefully employed them in active service. Now there were about 800 loyal Native Soldiers confided with any work to perform.

The City was in commotion, and many riots were checked by the watchfulness of Sir Henry Lawrence and Colonel Inglis who generally slept in the city during the night. Proclamations encouraging all the true Musalmans to rise in a mass on crusade, and destroy the Nasara infidels were every night posted upon all prominent buildings in the City and total failure of the police to detect the perpetrators of these misdeeds plainly showed that they were committed at the conni-

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vance of the police. The suspicion at last became a certainty, as in spite of the best endeavours of their Commander, Gold Weston, the police mutinied—the Mounted on the 11th and the Foot on the 12th June, and they were driven out of the City with some loss by a detachment of the 32nd.

Serious disasters occurring in the districts were reported every day. The Lakhnow mutineers defeated on the 31st May, passed on their way to Delhi through Sitapur, where were stationed the 41st N. I., the 10th Oudh Irregulars and the 9th Irregular Cavalry. Colonel Birch, the Commander of the 41st, attacked mutineers who were obliged to leave Sitapur without causing any harm. But it was soon discovered that the object of 41st in opposing the Lakhnow mutineers, far from any true loyalty to the Government, was not to allow them a share in the large treasury of the station and to have it entire for themselves, for just as the mutineers left the station, all the three Regiments of Sitapur rose in revolt on the pretence that the flour of their food had been adulterated for depriving them of their religion. Colonel Brich, other Officers and 24 women and children were cruelly murdered, and Sitapur mutineers, instead of going to Delhi, went to Fatehgarh to commit fearful atrocities there. Some Europeans escaping the carnage, separated into parties, one of whom consisting of 5 men, women and children, sought refuge of Raja Suni Singh of Mitholi, who making them prisoners, sent them to his desolate fort of Kachiani where Captain Philip Orr and family joined them after their escape from the massacre at Aurangabad.

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After a confinement of some months, all the prisoners were sent in carts, the males fettered both in feet and hands, to the mutineers at Lakhnow where they were kept in Kaisar Bag. After 20 days' further imprisonment, the males, Jackson, Orr, Burnes and Morton, were taken out and shot dead, and the women and children suffered the agonies of a wretched life, two months longer when a loyal native, named Wajid Ali, after a long kind treatment, took them to the English garrison at the risk of his life.

The 8th Oudh Locals and 15th Irregular Cavalry mutinied at Sitapur on the 9th June. Colonel Fisher, commanding the cavalry, finding that the regiments at most of the stations had been tempted to rebellion by presence of large treasures, decided to empty the Sultanpur treasury, and actually did so on the 8th June by issuing three months' pay in advance to the regiments ; but this his remedy proved useless, as on the next morning while going to the lines of his regiment, he was shot on the back by a police man. Captain Gibbins, 2nd in command of the regiment, was cut down by a party of his own men, and Lieutenant Tucker seeing that it was quite unsafe to stay there, rode off and escaped after a hot pursuit for three miles.

On the 8th June as the advance of the 17th N. I. that had mutinied at Azimgarh, was known at Faizabad, garrisoned by the 22nd N. I., a detachment of Irregular Cavalry, and a battery of Native Artillery, Colonel Lennon, the Commander of the 22nd, proposed to go out and give them a battle, but being misled by the native officers that it would be better to fight on the spot in a

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defensive position, was induced to give up the project. At night, however, the troops, all in a body, suddenly broke out in mutiny at 11 P. M., and raised Dalip Sing, a Subedar of the 22nd, and a Resaldar of the Cavalry to the ranks of Colonel and General respectively. These officers hired boats, put the European officers in them and told them to retire with safety. The boats were intercepted, and many of the officers killed by the 17th, encamped a little lower down the banks of the Gogra. This was a preconcerted plan of the two regiments devised by the 22nd to avoid the infamy of killing their own officers, but it was no less infamus to have them killed by others.

The mutiny of the Lakhnow Regiments and swarming of rebels from Azimgarh, Jaunpur, and other districts on its eastern border, excited all the troops located at the several military stations in Oudh, and they all throwing off their allegiance to the Government in the first half of June, the British prestige was entirely lost in every district throughout the province.

The case was, however, yet very different in the capital; the European police acting admirably under their commander Captain Carnegy, preserved peace and order, the courts opening regularly administered justice as ordinarily, and the daily execution of many a delinquent at gallows particularly raised at Machi Bhawan, kept the turbulent population of the city under restraint. Even a regiment, that of Sayad Husen, formerly in service of the ex-king, was disarmed and expelled from the city.

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Sir Henry continued to strengthen his post by Europeans and faithful natives amounting to 1,200, but daily increase of disturbance in the city and the province made him think of concentrating all his force within the Residency ; still with the hope of having some effect on the rebels, he continued to hold Machi Bhawan and display boldness in all his actions.

But his hopes depended on the fate of Kanhpur, the timely relief of which, by reinforcements from the east, would save Lakhnow from the attacks of the Oudh insurgents who were certainly to besiege the capital if encouraged by fall of Kanhpur.

Kanhpur was unfortunately destined to fall, and the news of the catastrophe spread in Oudh on the 28th June. The next day a strong rebel force amounting to 7,000 men was reported to be on its march upon Chinhat only 8 miles from Lakhnow on the Faizabad road.

Removing the troops from cantonments and making other preparations, Sir Henry Lawrence marched to oppose them on the 30th June, with an army of 686 men, of whom 300 were Europeans and 11 guns. Already exhausted by continued hardwork, particularly the duties of the preceding night and without any breakfast, though the sun had risen high before the march commenced, the troops on their departure appeared to be more as wearied with fatigue and anxiety than as lively and excited by the hopes of glory. At a distance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles or after passing $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the bridge on the Kukrail the disputants met each other, and a regular cannonade took place between them for

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an hour. The rebels then ceased firing, separating into two columns, made a flank movement on either side of the English, and pouring a destructive fire from both sides, committed such a havoc that the 32nd was reduced to half its number in a short time. The native gunners and the Irregular Cavalry deserted to join the enemy at this juncture, and though the Europeans made desperate effort to crush the rebels, yet Colonel Case, their Commander, falling mortally wounded, and they themselves being dis-spirited by overanxiety, no good result accrued. On the retreat, which was inevitably ordered the rebel cavalry, tried to possess themselves of the bridge and destroy the whole British force before its passage on the river; but the Volunteers, though 36 in number, fell so vigorously on the bridge that the enemy were obliged to give way and the baffled British troops safely crossed the river. With severe loss in men and 4 guns, the defeated army reached the city and took their quarters in Machi Bhawan and the Residency. Sir Henry Lawrence, who preceded them all, set a picket of 50 Europeans on the Iron Bridge and obstructed the passage of the enemy by that way. They, however, crossed the river by other bridges and occupying and fortifying numerous buildings around, began to attack the British positions.

The communication between Machi Bhawan and the Residency being intersected and successive dissasters having harassed Sir Henry Lawrence, he determined to give up the defence of Machi Bhawan and to contract all his forces in the Residency. Signals were given to this effect from the top of the

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uppermost building in the Residency, and Colonel Palmer, commandant of Machi Bhawan, coming to understand them with difficulty, managed to undermine the building and desert it so skilfully that the rebels were informed of the movement only by the dreadful explosion of 240 barrels of gunpowder and 7,00,000 cartridges, which made the huge building a heap of dust and which occurred after the garrison with greater part of the ammunition store had safely removed to the Residency in dark of night. From that day the Residency was literally besieged and continued so till it was relieved by reinforcements first under Havelock and Outram and again under Sir Colin Campbel, on the 25th September and 17th November 1857, respectively.

The garrison now consisted of 535 of the 32nd Foot, 50 of the 84th, 89 artillery men, 100 European officers of native regiments, 153 civilians and 765 loyal natives, making altogether 1,692. The enclosure consisted of a number of dwelling houses originally separated from each other, but now roughly united by a mud wall and trenches; it was defended at 15 different points, each defence being named by a battery, garrison or guard.

The room occupied by Sir Henry Lawrence, on the first story of the north-east angle of Residency, was the most exposed to enemy's fire. On the first July a shell burst near his feet but caused no injury. At the entreaties of the officers of his staff, he consented reluctantly to remove on the next morning to a safer room. On that morning, after his return, about 8 A. M., from a round of inspection he was much tired and lay

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on bed transacting business with Captain Wilson, the Adjutant-General and George Lawrence, his nephew, lying with him, another shell passed through wall, burst with terrific explosion and filled the room with dust and smoke, causing intense darkness followed by red glare. Wilson was slightly hurt, George Lawrence was left unscathed, but Sir Henry Lawrence was mortally wounded. Twice did Wilson ask, " Sir Henry, are you hurt, " but received no answer. After long delay he spoke with a low voice, " I am killed. " He was taken to another room and put under the treatment of Dr. Frayer, but it proved of no avail. As he continued to speak that day and the following, he made over the charges of the Civil and Military Offices to Colonel Banks and Brigadier Inglis respectively, and that of the artillery and Engineering to Major Anderson, remembered his children, friends, and native servants with tender feelings, and expressed an earnest desire that his asylum for the Orphans of British Soldiers should not be neglected. He advised the simple epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb, " Here lies Henry Lawrence who tried to do his duty, may the Lord have mercy on his soul. " His instructions to his successors were, to save the ladies, to fight to the last, and never to surrender. Lingering in agonies for the preceding night he expired on the 4th July 1857.

The enemy now consisting not only of the mutinous troops but also of the disaffected Talukdars, fanatical Musalmans, and discontented dependents of the late Native Court, kept up a constant fire on the British position with utmost pertinacity and resolution and

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caused a very great damage of life and property to the beleaguered garrison.

Besides keeping up an incessant fire of cannon and musketry during the siege which continued for 87 days, the rebels made four grand assaults on the garrison on the 20th July, 10th and 18th August and 5th September.

In the first which commenced at 8½ A. M. and lasted till 4 P. M., the rebels assembled in very great force all around the British position, and exploded a heavy mine inside the outer line of defences at the water gate. The mine, however, which was close to the Redan, and apparently sprung with the intention of destroying that battery, did no harm. But as soon as the smoke had cleared away, the enemy boldly advanced under cover of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, with the object of storming the Redan. But they were received with such a heavy fire that after a short struggle, they fell back with much loss. A strong column advanced at the same time to attack Innes's post and came on to within ten yards of the palisades, but a handful of no more than 30 men of Her Majesty's 32nd Foot and of the loyal 13th Native Infantry, headed by Lieutenant Loughnan, distinguished themselves by driving back the enemy vastly superior in number, with great slaughter.

On the next day the garrison sustained a loss, by no means less severe than that of Sir Henry Lawrence, by the death of that able and respected officer, Major Banks, the Chief Commissioner, who received a bullet

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through head while reconnoitering from the top of an outpost and died without a groan.

A mine close to Brigade Mess, which entirely destroyed the defences for the space of twenty feet, blew in a great portion of the outside wall of the house occupied by Mr. Schilling's garrison, was sprung before the second assault that continued for twelve hours from 10½ A. M. On the dust clearing away, a breach appeared, through which a regiment could have advanced in perfect order, and a few of the enemy came on with the utmost determination, but were met with such a withering flank fire of musketry from the officers and men holding the top of the Brigade Mess, that they beat a speedy retreat, leaving the more adventurous of their number lying on the crest of the breach. While this operation was going on, another large body advanced on the Kanhpur battery, and succeeded in locating themselves for a few minutes in the ditch. They were, however, dislodged by hand grenades. At Captain Anderson's post they also came boldly forward with scaling ladders which they planted against the wall; but here as elsewhere they were met with the most indomitable resolution, and the leaders being slain, the rest fled, leaving the ladders, and retreated to their batteries and loop-holed defences from which they kept up an unusally heavy fire.

In the third assault, the springing of a mine under the Sikh square, produced a very fatal effect and knowing the sufferings of the garrison, the rebels came with an extraordinary enthusiasm. Three British officers

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were blown into the air, but fortunately returned to the earth with the only injury of sustaining a severe shock. Eleven persons of the garrison were, however, buried alive under the ruins and could not be extricated owing to the tremendous fire kept up by the enemy from the adjoining houses. Rushes of the rebels were repulsed from every point except a house in which they succeeded in establishing themselves under the cover of the breach and from which they were driven late in the evening by the bayonets of European Soldiers.

The last assault was directed to several points at two of which particularly after the explosion of mines, as usual, with the interval of a few minutes. At Major Apthorp's post the rebels advanced with large heavy scaling ladders which they planted against the wall and mounted there by gaining for an instant the embrasure of a gun. But they were speedily driven back with loss by hand grenades and musketry. The second point was the Brigade Mess where they made a bold rush; but soon the corpses strewed in the garden in front of the post bore testimony to the fatal accuracy of the rifle and musketry fire of the gallant members of the garrison, and the enemy fled ignominously. At other posts they made similar attacks, but with less resoultion and everywhere with the same want of success. The loss of the rebels on this day was very severe as they were seen at night bearing large numbers of their killed and wounded over the bridges towards the Cantonments.

The hardships and privations which the garrison was subjected to during the siege were too numerous

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to relate. Along with unremitting fire of the enemy, disease spread a havoc and thinned its ranks. Some were prostrated with fever, others perished from small pox, and others fell victim to cholera. There had been only two days throughout the period on which no funeral had taken place. Even in the first week of the siege they had been on duty from 13 to 20 hours a day; and as their number and strength were gradually diminishing, their work naturally was steadily augmenting. Officers and men stood sentry without distinction. After remaining all day at their posts under burning sun they were required at night to perform manifold duties:—such as removing supplies from broken buildiugs, to countermine the mines of the rebels, to change the position of the guns, to erect barricades, to repair the shattered defences, to distribute stores and ammunitions, and to bury or dispose of the dead not only men but also the beasts. In rains they were wet to the skin in trenches and many had no change of cloth. Their scanty sleep was frequently broken by alarms and they were not less disturbed by flies and other insects while taking a little rest or food, Every one was sickened by foul smell exhaled from decaying offal or from stagnant water, Provisions were plentiful, but the Commissariat Officer being disabled, the General was under the misapprehension of their falling short, and therefore he reduced the rations. Provisions not included in rations, were sold at exorbitant prices, and there was a total want of many of the things of daily use. The women had their proper share of sufferings and trial. Those

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who were alone attended the hospital and ministered the wants of the sick and wounded; but those whose family required their attention, cheerfully performed the menial drudgery which the desertion of their servants threw upon them.

The garrison was at last reduced to three-eighths of its original number; of the Europeans one-third were killed or died of sickness ; but the decrease among the natives was proportionally more as it was caused by mortality as well as by desertion. The loss of the women was seven out of sixty-eight, but the children lost were more than one-third or twenty-three out of sixty-six.

The Europeans acted with unsurpassed courage and endurance; many of them immortalized their names by sacrificing lives in discharge of duty, and those who survived the siege, gained laurels of praise and honor for their dauntless valour and untainted devotion.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the fidelity and gallantry of the native soldiers, the remnants, of the 13th, the 48th and 71st infantry regiments, 'who, as faithful among the faithless, vied with their European comrades in the work of the trenches, in the ardour of their courage, and in their resolution to defend to the last the spot assigned to them. They were chiefly posted at most dangerous positions exposed to the galling fire of round shot and musketry, and there they rendered most splendid service. The 13th particularly proved useful on many critical occasions. So near

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were most of the natives to the enemy, their own brethren, that conversation could be carried on between them ; and every effort, persuation, promise, and threat, was alternately resorted to, in vain, to seduce them from their allegiance to the handful of Europeans who, in all probability, would have been sacrificed by their desertion. They did not only fight but also risked their caste by disinterring and removing putrid corpses when the spot was required to erect a new battery.

The pensioners summoned by Sir Henry Lawrence, conducted themselves in a most praisewarthy manner. Even the old, infirm, and weak of sight took an active part in the defence and the least capable among them manned the loopholes and loaded spare muskets for their comrades. Entirely separated from their families and relations, living on reduced rations and deprived of many of the necessaries of life, none of these men ever thought of deserting the place. Some died, many were killed, yet no one heard a grumble from the survivors. They continued to the last to abuse the rebels, and to declare that as they had eaten salt of the state, the state had a right to their lives.

One of these pensioners was Angad, who, with devotion and bravery of the Angad of Ramayan fame, performed similarly distinguished service as in Ram's expedition against Lanka or Ceylone. Of the many messengers sent out from the intrenchments he was the only man who returned with letters and joyful informations. Once he was suspected of speaking lie when the news brought by him were that of the two

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European regiments that had come to Kanhpur, one wore square buttons and the other light blue caps, and Brigadier Inglis and his staff could not recollect any regiments in the British Army with such marks. But Angad's information proved to be quite true when it was ascertained that the 78th Highlanders had square buttons and the 1st Madras Fusiliers were adorned with light blue caps. On his bringing Colonel Tytler's letter to the effect that an army was advancing for the relief of the garrison, he was sent back by Brigadier Inglis with the plans of operation which he duly delivered to General Havelock and relieved him of a great anxiety. On the 16th September, Angad was again sent to General Havelock with a letter rolled in a quill. The risk was great—certain death if discovered—but he evinced no reluctance and successfully brought a reply with the gratifying intelligence of the approach of the relieving force. Angad was liberally rewarded with Rs 5,000 for each trip, but the service he performed was neither less dangerous nor less valuable. Though excusing himself from undertaking any more trips, he declared to the officers :—"Come, life or death, I will remain with you." Martin Gubbins speaks of Angad in high terms, and there is no history of the siege of Lakhnow in which Angad's exploits are not honorably mentioned.

Now it remains to know how the Lakhnow garrison was relieved. Generals Havelock and Outram, as stated in the preceding chapter, left Kanhpur on the 21st September, and on the second day of their march they met an encounter at Mangalwar where the rebels were easily

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defeated, two of their guns were captured, and one hundred and forty of them were killed in pursuit. Marching through Unau and Bisharatganj and crossing the Sai by bridge which was found intact, they halted for the night at Banni. Marching next morning they came at 8½ A. M., in sight of Alambag where the enemy in a large number were prepared to receive them. In the action which took place, Ere and Olpherts worked their batteries admirably, Neil and Burton attacked the retreating rebel infantry and Alambagh was stormed and taken by the 5th Fusiliers. The cavalry under Outram and Barrow, then pursued the fugitives and seized five of their guns. The rebels in the meantime receiving reinforcements of fresh guns from the city, the pursuers were assailed in their turn and had to return and occupy Alambag. Here the delightful news of the fall of Delhi was announced, and the army slept with the double satisfaction, of their own success on the day and the glory of their brethren at the first centre of revolt. On the 24th September the Generals made arrangements for their further movement, and the troops recruited their energy after two days' exertions and exposure to heavy rains. Havelock intended to seize Dilkusha, cross the Gomti, gain the Faizabad road at the Kukrail bridge, occupy the Badshah Bag, re-cross the Gomti at the Iron Bridge and thence to advance to the Residency; his object in taking this circuitous route was to avoid the street fighting, but the country around the line was under floods. Outram aware of the necessity of joining the garrison at an earliest opportunity, preferred

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the dirert route across the canal by Charbag bridge and thence along the Kanhpur road to the Residency ; and this scheme was finally decided upon. Leaving the sick, wounded and the baggage at Alambag under the escort of 300 men, the army advanced on the next morning. The first obstacle they met with, were the Charbag bridge and garden well defended by the enemy with six guns. Maude's battery attacked the position from the front, Outram with 5th Fusiliers making a deteur, brought a flanking fire on the strong defences and Neil dashed from bay of the garden wall. Thus by one simultaneous effort the bridge was cleared, the barricade was stormed, the rebel gunners were bayoneted, and the entrance gate to Lakhnow—the bridge—was won. The troops now followed the lane along the canal for two miles and then turned northwards near Bank's house, but their progress was checked by a narrow bridge across a nala under the lee of the Kaisarbag by guns and musketry fire from that building. Though the bridge was so narrow as not to hold two men abreast, yet a rush was made, and the men who passed, fired on the rebels to cover the entrance of their comrades. Many men were struck down when suddenly the situation was mended by the 78th. That regiment was left as rearguard to escort the heavy guns and was therefore behind all the troops ; but having diverged from the road at a point near the Begam Kothi, made a short cut fighting their way through the Hazratganj quarter. They joined the Fusiliers at a moment when they were exposed to the heavy fire of the Kaisarbag guns and

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dashing into the battery, made the road easy by its capture. The united force now advanced, but darkness coming on soon, they had to halt under the cover of some deserted buildings near Chatar Manzil. Outram finding the work more serious than he had anticipated, proposed that the troops should halt for the night at Chatar Manzil to let the rearmost guard join them; but Havelock considered that the importance of joining the beleaguered garrison outweighed every other consideration, and so they pushed on through Khas Bazar crowded with the enemy. From an archway in this Bazar Neil was shot dead, still they continued to force their way until at length they emerged from the Bazar where some detachments that had pushed through other streets, made their junction with them. Sounds of cheering from the Residency gladdened them, but they were yet out of it. The night was dark and a way had to be made before they could enter it; defences, which had so long bidden defiance to the rebels at Baillie guard were removed, and the relievers and the relieved joyfully made their union without any obstacle.

Outram was of opinion that his proteges, the inmates of the Residency, should be taken to Kanhpur, but subsequent experience clearly proved that the women and children could not be withdrawn with the help of the force under his order, since he had lost 500 men in forcing his way to the Residency, unincumbered with non-combatants of that kind. He was, therefore, obliged to remain besieged in the Residency, his troops occupying some of the adjacent

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palaces and the Alambag held by a small detachment. The first relief, as it is called, proved to be only a reinforcement and, in one sense, made the situation more difficult, for, the additional number of men required more provision and larger accommodation while the supplies continued as before, and the old garrison was already confined to a limited space. The work of actual relief was thus reserved for Sir Colin Campbell, whose noble deeds will be described in a subsequent Chapter under the head of northern operations.

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CHAPTER VI.

Mutiny at other stations.

The events of the three great centres of revolt have been briefly related in the prec eding chapters, the present one is devoted to summary of what occurred at most of the other places during the troubles of rebellion.

Patna, a populons city, mostly inhabited by Musalmans of the Wahabi creed, is the head quarters of the civil authorities of the western Behar division, and Danapur its military station, ten miles to the west, was then garrisoned by three native infantry regiments, the 7th, the 8th, and the 40th, a company of European, and another of native artillery. Both the places were excited to fervour ; at Patna the Mohamadan fanatacism was at its height, while the regiments at Danapur were in perfect sympathy with their brethren at other stations. The officers in charge of the civil and military divisions were, however, of very different types.

Mr. William Taylor, the Commissioner, an active and energetic officer, finding by the means of intercepted letters that conspiracy was on foot, ordered the arrest of the Moulvis who were at the head of the movement. One of them, Ahmadulla, was arrested and put under custody, but another, named Ali Karim, who

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sagaciously had made preparations for the purpose, escaped with impunity. This measure secured peace to certain extent; but one evening a party of sixty or seventy fanatics, beating drums, unfurling a green flag, and raising the religious cry "Ya Allah," rushed to attack the Roman Catholic Cathedral in the city. Rattray's Sikhs, a detachment from the regiment at Sengholi, were ordered down to the spot, and they falling on the undisciplined mass with ungovernable fury, dispersed them in a moment, but Dr. Lyall, the Opium Assistant, being in advance, was shot dead.

Next morning the city underwent a complete search, thirty-one ringleaders, including Waris Ali, a police officer and Pir Ali, a bookseller, were arrested, and fourteen of them were hanged on the same evening. Waris Ali, when taken to the gallows, exclaimed in a loud voice :—"If there be any one friend to the king of Delhi he must rescue me." The vigorous measures of disarming the turbulent population and of constant arrests and unceasing use of hemp overawed the inhabitants; and Patna was kept quiet and saved from insurrection.

The commander at Danapur was Major-General Lloyd, an old and infirm officer, who had almost lost his energies and spirit of action. He believed his soldiers to be faithful while they were quite the contrary. The European community—both civil and mercantile—had early recognized the necessity of disarming the native troops, and the latter, mostly tea-planters, with danger to their enormous property, had gone so far as to apply the Government of India for the purpose. In the beginning

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there were no European troops to accomplish the object, but even when Her Majesty's 10th, the 37th foot and the 5th Fusiliers passed on to up-country, touching Patna, the Government left it at the option of Lloyd, who was already unwilling to carry out the proposal.

General Lloyd first hesitated and allowed on 22nd July the main body of the 5 Fusiliers to go on without taking advantage of their presence; at last he detrmined, but instead of totally disarming the troops which he was authorized to do, he contented himself with the half measure of depriving them of the percussion caps which he thought served the same purpose. On the 25th July, two Companies of the 37th that disembarked for the purpose and artillery of the station were drawn, and two cartloads of the caps were taken from the regimental magazines. The General thinking that this was all to be done, retired to the steamer but recollecting on his departure that a large number of the caps were in possession of the soldiers, ordered them to be taken. The officers tried to carry out the order, but the soldiers, instead of obeying, began to fire at them. Instantly the European troops came on and a few shots from the Enfield Rifle put the mutineers to flight. The Europeans pursued, but as there was no General to command, the action ended in confusion. The mutineers going towards the Ganges were fired from the steamer, therefore they took their way to the Sone towards Ara.

Now a third enemy, more obstinate than the mutineers and the Wahabis of Patna, appeared on the scene.

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This was Kunwar Sing, the Chief of Jagdishpur, a powerful zemindar who had his own grievances. He helped the mutineers in crossing the Sone by providing boats and led them upon Ara to plunder the treasury, murder the Europeans and then go to Ghazipur and Oudh by crossing the Ganges at Baxar. This was a bold plan and was nearly successful.

On the 27th, the mutineers reached Ara, broke open the jail, plundered the treasury and attacked the European residents, The latter, however, had not been idle, but under the direction of Mr. Boyle, a Railway Engineer, had carefully fortified a two-storied house and laid in provisions for their use. The garrison consisted of 16 well armed Europeans and 50 faithful Sikhs, and they repulsed the enemy's attack with a steady and well directed fire for many days.

Intelligence of the beleaguered state of the Ara residents reaching Danapur succour, was sent in two successive steamers which finally joining, amounted to 340 Europeans and 70 Sikhs under Captain Dunbar of Her Majesty's 10th Foot and landed at about 12 miles from Ara on the 29th July. They marched on the same evening and neared Ara at night, but before reaching their destination they were fired at from a clump of trees in front and on both flanks. Several officers, including Captain Dunbar, were shot dead at the first discharge of volley by the invisible enemy, and the force was obliged to retreat losing men at every step in dark night and in an unknown country. The number of killed, wounded and drowned in a Nala on

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the way, was so very great that only 53 men of the party reached Danapur untouched.

Such was the issue of the first attempt to relieve Ara, the failure encouraged the mutineers to push their effects with more determination, and the situation of the garrison would have been hopeless had not a timely providential help intervened to rescue them.

Major Vincent Ere, an artillery officer of great ability, who was on his way to Allahabad in a steamer with half a company of artillery and three guns, learnt at Ghazipur the misfortunes of Ara, and determined to relieve the garrison. He steamed back to Baxar when he fortunately met another steamer with 150 men of the 5th Fusiliers under Captain L'Estrange on the board and was joined by 200 volunteers from Stud and Railway Departments. With this little band of heroes he speedily marched on his expedition and reached Gajrajganj, only six miles from Ara on the 2nd August. Next morning he was opposed by the rebels in an overwhelming number of 3,000 men, whom with a miraculous daring spirit and rare military genius, he defeated several times and turned the disaster into triumph.

Not content with relieving his country men at Ara, Ere accompanied with 200 men of the 10th under Captain Patterson, burning to revenge their comrades, pursued the rebels to Jagdishpur, 30 miles south. There the charge of the force was decisive; it struck a terror into the hearts of the enemy who now utterly broken, fled in dismay to find refuge in distant part of the country towards Rewa under the guidance of their

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leader, Kunwar Sing. By their departure, Ere's further detention in Behar became unnecessary, and returned on the 20th August to proceed to his original destination of Allahabad.

Kunwar Sing continued to commit mischiefs in western Behar, till on the 22nd October he surprised a British force under Colonel Hilman at Atrolia, forced it to fall back on Azamgarh, and there he besieged it. It was feared Kunwar Sing might carry his arms to Banaras while Oudh was still unsubdued, and Lord Canning sent from Allahabad Lord Mark Kerr at the head of about 500 men with 4 guns. Kunwar Sing prepared an ambush for him, but Lord Mark, by a display of combined coolness and courage, not only extricated his men but also inflicted upon the rebels a crushing defeat and relieved Azamgarh.

The Commander-in-Chief similarly realizing the significance of Milman's disaster, sent three English regiments, 700 Sikhs and 18 guns under General Lugard to deal with Kunwar Sing. After many actions, in which Brigadier Douglas defeated the rebels and in one they defeated Captain LeGrand Kunwar Singh was pursued to Shahabad and there he died three days after his success. The rebellion continued sometime longer, till at last a large number of the rebels was killed and the rest dispersed.

Banaras.

Banaras, well known for its population of turbulent and prejudicial Brahmins averse to English innovations and an asylum of numerous discontented chiefs and

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nobles, many of them banished from their State, was a hot bed of sedition and disaffection. Messrs Henry Carr Tucker and Frederie Gubbins were the Commissioner and Civil and Sessions Judge, respectively. The former officer, with a sagacious perseverence, confided in the strength of his own resources, while the latter, with his strong measures, overawed the people and coecred them to submission. None of them cared to detain any of the detachments of European troops that passed through Banaras on their way to Allahabad and Kanhpur.

Of the native troops at Sikrol a regiment of Ludhiana Sikhs was perfectly loyal, the 13th irregular cavalry was doubtful, and the 37th infantry alone was supposed to be ripe for revolt. Yet the officers of the station thinking all the troops equally disaffected, raised an alarm how to preserve order with a handful of 30 English gunners against three native regiments, and in a committee assembled to pounder on the subject, three of the officers went so far as to propose leaving Banaras and retiring to Chunar fort. The project was, however, opposed by all others and ab andoned, and it was determined to stick to the ground and never to leave it.

For want of any other fortified place, the mint an extensive building proof against fire of arms except cannon was selected as a place of safety where the Europeans might find a shelter on the rise of the native troops, and two com panies of the 10th foot (Europeans) numbering 150 men, were summoned from Danapur for protection.

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On the 3rd June, soon after the arrival of the European companies from Danapur, all the officers of the station met to discuss on the propriety of disarming the 37th with the help of 240 Europeans, the Sikhs and the Irregular Cavalry. No conculsion had yet been arrived at, when the Brigade Major came with the startling news that the 17th Native Infantry has mutinied at Azamgarh and plundered the treasury, and this at once decided that the 37th must be disarmed on the next morning. The assembly was going to break when Colonel Neil, who came from Calcutta, on his way to Allahabad, entered the room, and with his argument that why should the 37th be allowed even one night to learn the disasters of Azamgarh and to rise before being disarmed, prevailed upon the committee to decide that the 37th must be disarmed that very evening.

The Sikhs and Irregular Cavalry on one side and the Europeans with artillery on the other, were drawn simultaneously at equal distances. Before the Europeans were visible, the 37th had quietly obeyed their commander by putting their muskets in the bells of armss, but no sooner they caught sight of the other troop, advancing towards them than they broke open the bells and taking their arms, opened a brisk fire upon their officers and other Europeans. Eight men of the 10th Foot were killed when the Europeans instantly replied with a volley, and Captain William Olpherts was not slow in directing the artillery towards the mutineers, and sending forth a few grapes which put them to flight. Meanwhile, on the other side, Captain

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Guise of the cavalry was shot dead and Brigade-Major going to the spot at the order of the Brigadier to assume the command, addressed the cavalry regiment to follow him. One of the troopers drew his pistol and fired at him and another attempted to cut him with sword. His horse in this confusion and difficult position, took him astray towards the Sikhs who knowing not the real state but suspecting something adverse, began to fire at the Europeans and the artillery. The 10th Foot being in pursuit of the 37th, the guns were left unprotected and under the apprehension that the Sikhs were going to take them, they were turned and discharged at the Sikhs who were dispersed in disorder. Both the infantry and a part of the cavalry regiments were driven from the parade and compelled to flee in different directions, and Colonel Neil brought the operation to close by capturing many a mutineer of the 37th and hanging them on the next morning.

While this was going on in the Cantoments, the Civilians had collected on the top of the treasury about two miles distant. A great danger was averted by the presence of Sardar Surat Singh, a Sikh state prisoner there. The Sikh guard at the treasury, hearing that their regiment was beaten and turned out of the lines, were ready to attack the Europeans and plunder the treasury, but Surat Singh interfered, persuaded his countrymen that it was only a mishap and convincing them of the good intentions of the Government, kept them firm in their duty.

The proceedings of that evening were disapproved by almost all the officers—both Civil and Military—as

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the project was very ill-judged and clumsily carried out. The officers of the 37th complained that their men had been unjustly driven to mutiny and very unmercifully treated and Montgomery Martin asserted that disarming of the 37th was not at all necessary. Really the 37th were not rebellious since they laid down their arms at the command of their officers, and there could be no reasonable cause for the confusion which led the loyal Sikhs astray.

The so-called mutiny of the native troops was put down, but a great disturbance broke out in the country from that very day. Had not the prudence and energy of Mr. Gubbins, aided by some faithful native, such as Sardar Surat Singh, Rao Deo Narayan Singh, the Maharaja of Banaras and Pandit Gokal Chand, the Nazir of Judge's Court, kept the insurgents at bay, the authority of the Government would have been lost at Banaras for a time.

Jaunpur.

A detachment of the Ludhiana Sikh regiment guarded the public offices at Jaunpur where a party of European indigo planters, came galloping on the 5th June with the information that rebels from Banaras were going to attack their factories. The Sikhs at first promised to protect them and other Europeans of the station, but when they learnt shortly after that their comrades at Banaras had gone as rebels, they at once began firing and plundering the treasury. Mr. Fane, the Magistrate, succeeded in depriving them of their arms in a very dexterous manner, but Lieutenant

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Mora, their own officer, and a civilian, Mr. Guppage, were murdered by them before they were compelled to flee to Banaras. After remaining confined in the Collector's office for sometime, the Europeans were sheltered by an influential native, named Hingan Lall, who kept them comfortably till succour from Banaras enabled them to go to that city.

Azamgarh and Gorakhpur.

The 17th native infantry regiment was already notorious for want of discipline, and the news of Dehli and Merath disasters made it the more rabbid. Its two companies guarded Gorakhpur district, and the main body was quartered at Azamgarh.

Towards the end of May, the Collectors of the two districts, as directed by the Government, remitted their treasuries to Allahabad under the escort of Lieutenant Palisser with his irregular cavalry and the two Companies of the 17th at Gorakhpur. They started with Rs. 10,00,000 from Gorakhpur and took charge of Rs. 7,00,000 at Azamgarh on their way. The 17th, that considered the treasury as their own property, endeavoured to prevent its being removed, but the boldness of Palisser and his troopers baffled their attempt, and the party proceeded on their journey on the night of the 3rd June. Only three hours subsequently to their departure, the remaining six companies of the 17th revolted, murdered their Quarter-Master Lieutenant Hutchinson, broke open the gaol and taking the police with them, overtook Palisser's party. The troopers refused to do anything more than defending the European offi-

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cers, and the 17th easily possessed themselves of the treasury. The officers with the cavalry were compelled to retire to Banaras, and the mutineers laden with treasury, made their way to Oudh.

A dread of the return of the 17th created a great disturbance at Azamgarh, and Mr. Astell, the Judge, and other Civilians, fled to Gazipur; but Mr. Venables, an indigo planter of great influence, organizing a troop of his tenants at Duri Ghat, restored order in the district and twice succeeded in repulsing the attacks of the insurgent rabbles.

Allahabad.

The only troops that originally garrisoned Allahabad, were the 6th Native Infantry Regiment and a battery of Native Artillery; a company of the former guarded the fort and the arsenal in it, and the rest were located in the cantonment three miles apart. In May 1857, when misbehaviour of the native troops began to be manifest, additions were made by bringing a wing of the Firozpur Sikhs, 400 strong, who occupied the fort on the 9th May, and a squadron of the 13th Oudh Irregular Cavalry which was stationed in the Cantonment on the 19th. At the request of the civil authorities, 65 invalid European gunners were ordered from Chunar and put in the fort on the 23rd.

The 6th Native Infantry was one of the best regiments of the Bengal Army, and Colonel Simson, the Commander, had a strong faith in their fidelity. No better proof of their devotion could be than the fact that in the height of their contempt towards their

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mutinous brethern at Delhi, they volunteered to a man on 1st June to be taken to attack them. Through such an implicit confidence in their integrity, the small batches of European troops that began to come from Calcutta from 27th May, were forwarded to Kanhpur without interruption.

Everything was quiet to the 5th June when the events of Banaras and Kanhpur made the authorities advise the ladies and non-combatant Christians to remove to the fort and such of the latter, as acted on the advice, were furnished with arms and formed into a Militia. This measure was disagreeable to the 6th Native Infantry as reflecting want of trust in their fidelity, and the native officers requested the Commander that his family should return to the house in the lines; but fortunately the advice was not approved of. A company of the 6th Native Infantry with two guns under Lieutenant Harward was placed on the bridge on the Jamna to arrest the passage of the Banaras rebels; and Captain Alexander with his squadron of cavalry, posted at Alopighat for the same purpose. The guns of the fort were also directed towards Banaras.

Warmest thanks of the Governor-General for the loyal offer of the 6th Native Infantry received by wire on the 5th were communicated to the regiment in a parade on the 6th June; every one expressed his great delight and enthusiasm on the occasion and officers and men congratulated each other for the appreciation of their good intentions. In order to celebrate their joy, the officers of the station dined together in the Mess that evening.

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It was soon proved, however, that the 6th Native Infantry had been disloyal to the core, and determined to strike a blow so suddenly as to take the officers by surprise. What served as a pretence to rise, was an order to remove the two guns and the ammunition at the bridge to the fort. Lieutenant Harward wished to take them to the fort, but the Company of the 6th and the native gunners contended that they should be taken to the Cantonments. Thus quarrelling for the guns they went to the Alopighat where the cavalry fraternized with them, and they all made a combined attack on the English officers. Captain Alexander was shot through the heart and died instantly, but Lieutenant Harward, jumping into the river, saved his life by swimming off to the fort. The news of this occurrence were speedily carried to the lines, and the whole of the regiment was at once in revolt.

At half past nine just as the dinner was finished, and some of the officers were preparing to retire, the alarm was heard. Never suspecting a treachery of their own regiment, the officers naturally thought the approach of the Banaras rebels and buckling hastily their swords they rode out to the parade more with the prospect of glory by beating off the rebels than with any feeling of fear. On the parade they found a company of the 6th drawn up in line, and what response they received to the word of command, was a sharp volley that instantly destroyed five of them, nine were captured and riddled with bayonets, and the rest, among whom were young ensigns, fresh from England, were murdered by the guard on the Mess.

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The garrison of the fort were not less alarmed by the tumult abroad and rising upon the ramparts anxiously looked what was going on there. The same idea of a fight between the Banaras rebels, and the loyal 6th struck their minds also, and as the fire slackened after several successive volleys, they were overjoyed to imagine that the enemy had been defeated. They could not, however, indulge long in this delirium ; the light of the bugalows on fire first roused their suspicion, and the fugitives from the parade soon put everything to light.

Captain Brasyer at once recognized the necessity of clearing the fort, and with the force of his Sikhs aided by the European gunners and the Militia, disarmed and expelled the company of the 6th whose treachery could no longer be doubted. The fort was secured, but the cantonment, the city and its environs were quite at the mercy of the mutineers who committed every kind of ravage their wicked ingenuity could devise. The Christians were murdered with inhuman atrocities, the treasury was robbed of Rs. 17,00,000 in hard cash, 1,600 bullocks were taken from Commissariat and 2,500 prisoners were let loose from the Jail. The mutineers first intended to go to Delhi but avarice and discord prevailed upon them to divide the plundered treasure and to scatter in the country.

Dispersion of the mutinous soldiers, however, made no decrease in the disorder created by the mutiny ; the Musalmans, who form a greater part of the population of the city, headed by Moulvi Liyakat Ali,

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raised a rebellion not less dreadful than the mutiny had been. The Moulvi, possessing high mental faculties and power of speech, preached a crusade against all the Kafirs and by issue of eloquent proclamations, enjoined upon every Musalman the sacred duty of slaughtering the infidels and dying in cause of Islam and the Kings of Delhi and Oudh. They all assembled round a green flag set up at the Kotwali and spread their ravages not only upon the Christians against whom their furious attacks were directed, but also upon the Hindus, most of whom were deprived of their valuable property and persecuted for resorting to the pilgrimage of Prayag.

Meanwhile the troops in the fort taking an undue advantage of the indulgence shown to them with regard to their much wanted services, demoralised themselves by base excesses ; the Sikhs plundering the shops of merchants, possessed themselves of large quantities of wine and sold to the Europeans what they themselves could not consume ; so that most of the sentinels, both Sikh and European, were found extremely drunk even while on duty. Many of the non-military volunteers also were robbing the peaceful traders of their stores and furniture.

At this juncture, Colonel Neil made his entry at Allahabad and was preceded and followed by parties of European troops. Early next morning on the 12th June he attacked Daryaganj by opening the guns on the rampart from above, and sending out troops on the spot to co-operate with them. The rebels were dis-

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lodged from the bridge which was immediately repaired and put under the protection of a company of Sikhs. The communication with Benares was henceforth opened without interruption.

Coming to know the excesses of the garrison, Neil reprimanded all Christians for their intemperance, and made it impossible for them to procure wine, by purchasing for the Commissariat all the liquors possessed by the Sikhs who were also removed to a building out of the fort under its wall.

On the 13th, another expedition was sent to punish the rebels at Kaidganj and Sultan Khusru, the latter place being the positions held by a party under the Moulvi with two guns. One party of the troops went in a steamer firing right and left, and destroying villages with showers of grape and canister, and another went into the city and caused destruction to the most turbulent part of it. The guns of the fort were also directed to the same points that were invaded by these parties. These attacks were continually repeated, until on the 15th the chief insurgent, the Moulvi, with 3,000 rebels was beaten down and driven across the Ganges into Oudh.

The city and its suburbs were now quite clear and troops continued to go out and sweep the enemy in the country. Many rebellious villages, such as Duryabad, Sayadabad and Rasulpur were burnt and destroyed, and insurgents in large numbers were either slain or taken prisoner.

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Fatehgarh.

A square on the bank of the Ganges at Fatehgarh is called its fort on three sides of which are mud walls and the fourth is open on the river. There were, at the Station, an agency for manufacturing gun carriages, a tent making establishment and an orphan asylum with large number of native Christians under American Presbyterian Mission. The residents being alarmed by the rumours of the rising of the 10th native infantry regiment stationed there, and the communication being cut off by mutinies in Oudh and Ruhelkhand, 166 persons, men of non-military profession, women and children, left the place in boats on the 4th June. They were fired at by the villages on the way, and Hardeo Bakhsh, the zimidar of Dharampur in Oudh, offered them shelter. Only forty of the number availed themselves of his hospitality, and shortly after returned to Fatehgarh, while remaining 126 went on their voyage and reached Kanhpur on the 12th to be brutally murdered by inhuman Nana Sahib as already related.

The Military officers made provisions in the way of precaution, but nothing disturbed the peace of the station to the 15th June when the 41st N. I., that had mutinied at Sitapur, arrived on the opposite bank of the river. The 10th N. I was faithful, and in answer to the invitation from the 41st to join them in revolt, sent word that they were true to the salt and had nothing to do with the traitors, and even at the command of their officer, Colonel Smith, they broke the bridge and sunk

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the boats to prevent the passage of the mutineers to the station.

Helped by the Nawab of Farrukhabad, the 41st crossed the river on the 17th and created disunion in the 10th, a part of which mutinied and the remainder still adhered to duty. The treasury of the station then became a bone of contention between the mutineers, the mutinous part of the 10th was not willing to let the 41st, have a share in it. The Grenadier Company of the 10th at last went over to the Nawab and acknowledged him their master, but refused to make over the boon even to him. The combined mutineers then attacked those who were faithful to the last; some of them were dispersed and others were seized and hanged.

The Europeans, 110 of whom 33 only, were able bodied, went into the fort and prepared to defend themselves with 300 muskets, 7 guns and a limited quantity of ammunition. From 27th June to 4th July they bravely repulsed every attack of the enemy, but when two breaches were made in the wall with a mine underneath, their store was nearly exhausted, and they were wearied with fatigue and loss of two officers, they embarked in three boats and set to sail.

The retreat was immediately discovered and followed by pursuit and firing of the rebels. At no great distance one of the boats went aground and its crew had to shift to the other two boats which went safely so far as the village Singherpur, but again one of them drifted. The Europeans were engaged in endeavouring to shore it when two boats filled with mutineers, overtook them;

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many were shot down, others, particularly the women, threw themselves into the river and lost their lives by drowning and the rest were taken to the Nawab and blown away by his guns.

Jhansi and Budelkhand.

The Rani of Jhansi bore a strong malice towards the Government for losing her State by confiscation, was exceedingly delighted to learn the occurrence of mutiny, and soon intrigued with the troops a wing of the 12th infantry and another of the 14th cavalry, stationed at her lost capital. In order to deceive the authorities and to enlarge her resources, however, she very cunningly made a show of sympathy and friendship with the Government and obtained the permission of Captain Skeme, the Commissioner, to enlist troops for her defence and to co-operate with the British.

On the 5th June a party of soldiers forcibly took possession of a small fort in the Cantonments, but the matter stopped with apology and assurances of loyalty made by their comrades, yet the Europeans and Christians warned by the incident, got hold of the town fort, and prepared themselves for the defence. On the 6th June the troops actually revolted, and after murdering thier officers and bursting open the Jail, attacked the Europeans in the fort. The garrison manly opposed and repulsed the attacks, but conscious of the weakness of their position for want of provisions and war supply, three of them went to the Rani to beseech her aid and protection. The Rani took no notice of them, but sent them on to the cavalry Risaldar, and there they were

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instantly put to death. Another attack on the next day was repulsed, and then the Rani knowing not the real state of the garrison and fearing they might long defend themselves, sentia message that if they would surrender the fort and lay down their arms, she would have them conveyed to some place of safety. Assured by solemn oaths of the sincerity of the offer, poor Englishmen, 65 men, women and children, accepted the terms, but no sooner did they walk out of the fort than they were taken to a garden, and there brutally murdered to a soul. The Rani then began to rule fearlessly, fortified the city, raised an army and prepared to defend her country against the British power.

The example was followed at Nowgong by detachments of the Jhansi troops which mutinied on the 10th June. The officers, with their families, fled for lives, and after enjoying for two days, the protection of the Ranis of Ajaigarh and Chatarpur and losing a large number of their party, a few from the attack of villagers, but mostly from sunstroke and apoplexy, reached Banda, the Nawab of which received them with much kindness and hospitality. They were joined by numerous refugees from Hamirpur and Fatehpur, all of whom were comfortably kept in the Nawab's palace, but at Banda itself there was a regiment, the 56th, that not only mutinied but also gained over the troops of the Nawab to join them in plundering the treasury and going off to join their comrades elsewhere. The Nawab was obliged to send his British refugees, and he had them safely escorted to Mirzapur .But alas, this virtuous Nawab was also

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driven to mutiny, and afterwards proved to be a great leader of the rebellion.

Gwalior.

Just as the news of the mutiny reached Gwalior, Maharaja Sindhia, a wise and sagacious ruler, made a clear distinction between the virtues of his overlord, the British Government, and the wickedness of the mutinous soldiery headed by the puppet king of Delhi, whose hereditary antagonism to his ancestors had been well-known, and he at once threw himself heart and soul into the cause of the Government.

It was Maharaja Jiyaji Rao who informed Major Macpherson, the Political Agent at his Court, before anything had happened that the company's native army was undermined to the core, and even his own regiments officered by the English, were not to be trusted ; and while sending his own body-guard to Agra in response to Mr. Colvin's call, he entertained grave doubts as to the results of his compliance.

The Gwalior Contingent was composed of four field batteries, a small siege train, two regiments of cavalry and seven of infantry, aggregating 8,318 men strong. Some of them were on outstation duties, but the bulk was at Gwalior. The Maharaja's body-guard mutinied at Hathras on the 28th May, and went to Delhi, the regiments at Nimach, Augor and Lalatpur, followed the example in close succcession, till at last the whole body mutinied at Gwalior on the 14th June.

At the particular request of the Maharaja, after the occurrence of mutiny at several other stations, the

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families of the regimental officers had been removed to the Maharaja's palace, but the native officers feigning a staunch fidelity, represented the step as disgraceful to them by depriving them of the confidence, they were obliged to return to their houses.

Only a fortnight subsequently the whole of the contingent broke out into insurrection at 9 P. M. and rushing out in tumultous disorder from their lines, murdered seven officers, three women, three children and six sergeants and pensioners. Of those that fled for life, eight reached the Maharaja's palace and were comfortably lodged there, and remainder, after suffering great many miseries on the way, were kindly received at Agra. Major Macpherson was among the latter; running directly to the palace and narrowly escaping an assault of some fanatic Musalmans, he had ready access to the Maharaja whom he whispered a few words in the way of instruction and then departed. It is to the great credit of the noble prince that he adhered to those words to the last in spite of great injuries to himself and his State.

The instruction was not to let the mutinous troops leave Gwalior until the resources increased by reinforcements, enabled the Government to ward off their attack. It was indeed a dangerous task, playing with Cobra according to Indian saying, but Sendhia and his Dewan, Raja, Dinkar Rao, performed it admirably. The mutineers, after murdering the officers, put their services at the disposal of the Maharaja and begged him to lead them against Agra. It is evident

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that compliance or refusal to this request would have been equally destructive to the British interests. Had Sendhia actually joined the rebels, not less than 20,000 troops of trained soldiers and veteran Marahtas would have spread devastation far and wide, but even in the case of his refusal the contingent alone let loose on the British provinces, would have inflicted terrific damages not to be easily retrieved. He therefore adopted the policy of making solemn promises but never fulfilling them. By high promotions and liberal donations he assured the mutineers of his compliance, but by pretended difficulties of adverse seasons and procuring carriage, by astrological reasons of unpropitious time, by obstacles of state festivities and religious observations and by all the arts his ingenuity could suggest, he detained them to the 16th October or full four months, when exasperated by the fall of Delhi and coming to know the real object of the Maharaja, they left Gwalior and fell in the hands of Sir Colin Campbell on the 7th December.

Mow and Indore.

At Mow the Military station, 13 miles to the south of Indore, were the 23rd native Infantry Regiment, a wing of the 1st Cavalry and a Company of European artillery. Major Durand had recently come as officiating Agent Governor-General at Indore and Maharaja Tukaji Rao Hulkar was the ruler of the State. The Residency was guarded by 200 men of the Malwa Contingent, and as the disturbance began, detachments of Infantry, Cavalry and two guns of the Bhopal Contingent under Colonel Travers and 270 Bhils from Sardarpur, were added to

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the guard, and Maharaja Hulkar on his part put 3 guns and 3 Companies of infantry at the disposal of the Agent, Governor-General.

First of all the Hulkar's troops rose in revolt on the 1st July and opened fire, throwing grapes at the Bhopal Contingent, the latter, after remaining inactive and seemingly loyal for sometime, joined the mutineers and the Bhils, who were surprised, could do nothing for want of guns. Durand had ordered the European Battery from Mow, but before it could come, he was obliged to leave the place with European residents, including women and children.

Captain Hungerford, who had started from Mow with the artillery, hearing the departure of Durand on the way returned to his station, occupied the fort and prepared to defend it, taking in all the ladies of the station. On the very night of the 1st July, the troops of Mow also mutinied, attacked the officers, of whom three were killed, plundered the station and joining the Indore rebels, made their way to Gwalior.

Durand went first to Sehore, but finding no help there, proceeded on to Aurangabad to General Woodburn, advancing from Bombay at the head of a British column, and urged upon him the necessity of pushing forward. He returned to Mow, but instead of going to Indore he took the little army to Mandisore, and there struck a blow to the great insurrection that had risen under Firoz Shah.

Maharaja Hulkar was staunch in his fidelity during all this time, he was always in communication with

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Major Durand and the Magistrate at Mow, he drove out the mutineers who flocked round his palace and arrogantly demanded the delivery of the Christians whom he had sheltered, he sent out a trustworthy force to rescue the Europeans who were wandering with distress in the country, he despatched to Mow all the treasure that had escaped the cupidity of the mutineers, he forwarded to their destinations the camel loads of letters and correspondences that passed through Indore, and finally he disarmed his own suspicious troops as desired by the British Officers. It was at the co-operation of Hulkar alone that Hungerford was enabled to re-establish the postal and telegraphic communications and to restore order in Mow and the neighbouring districts.

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CHAPTER VII.

Suppression of the Mutiny.

It has been endeavoured in the previous pages to show the progress of rebellion in North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Western Bihar and Central India. By the end of June, almost the whole Bengal regular native army was in open revolt, all the contingents of the neighbouring Native States joined the mutineers, and a large mass of police, badmashes, prisoners released from jails and hereditary tribes of robbers and thieves, swelled the rebel bands. Some idea of the rebel force may be formed from the fact that the troops, investing Lucknow, were at a subsequent time not less than 2,00,000 men. In consequence, the whole of the country was in blaze communication was interrupted throughout, and the action of the responsible authorities to preserve some show of power at different places, was more or less futile. For a long time the English public were unaware that such inhuman atrocities had been exercised, and an extensive part of India had been almost lost, and matters other than the mutiny continued to be the subject of their thoughts and discussions. But when the facts were announced to them on the 23rd June 1857, and they came to know the magnitude of the danger, the nation made one of those bold and characteristic efforts which have so

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often marked her progress. Within a few weeks of the alarm, 30,000 men of all arms were on the high road to India.

It is true that through the untiring zeal of Sir John Lawrence and his subordinates, Delhi had been recaptured before any reinforcement from England could reach the spot, and a few European regiments, returning from Persia and intercepted in their voyage to China, had been employed at distant places, but the mischief had spread to such an enormous extent, and so terrible damages had been committed that the recapture of Delhi served only as a turning point of the tragedy and drove out some half a lakh of miscreants to devastate other parts of the country. It was impossible, therefore, to meet the emergency without such reinforcements, and even then it took no less than two years to accomplish the task and bring the matters to a successful conclusion.

What was done during these two years, is divided into following three distinct operations; one, the Northern, under Sir Colin Campbell; another, the Southern, under Sir Hough Rose; and the third, as it is called the pursuit of Tantia Topi, performed by many officers simaltaneously.

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SECTION I.

The Northern operations.

Sir Colin Campbell, who had served with credit in the Peninsular, American and China wars in his early

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career, been created a K. C. B. for bis glorious actions in the Panjab war of 1848-1849, and promoted to G. C. B. for his distinguished services in the Crimean war, was selected to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army at the age of 65 years. He was appointed on the 11th July, left England on the next day and reaching Calcutta with all possible haste, assumed the command of the Army on the 17th August 1857.

He did not at once proceed to up-country but remained in the capital, superintending the reception and despatch to the front of the troops as they arrived from England, collecting stores and supplies without which it should be impossible to put an army in the field.

The army was impatient and thought the Commander-in-Chief would do better by pushing on to the front in order to reanimate the wearied troops operating in the North-West, leaving the arrangements at Calcutta to his subordinates; but it was not prudent for him to go alone and subject himself to the difficulties which Havelock, Neil and Outram, who preceded him, had experienced, and his presence in Calcutta was more usefully employed.

After making every necessary arrangement, he left Calcutta on the 27th October 1857, and reached Kanhpur on the 3rd November, when his force amounted to 5,000 men, with 39 guns, besides mortars and rocket tubes. Though his movement was not a little threatened by the presence of the Gwalior contingent and other rebels at Kalpi, yet he made his entry into

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Oudh on the 9th November, leaving Kanhpur garrisoned by 1,050 men, half British and half Madras soldiers, under General Wyndham, with instructions not to act in the offensive unless threatened by bombardment.

The delay at Calcutta was fully compensated by the steady and speedy progress he made in relieving the Lakhnow garrison. Dividing his force into three brigades under Adrain Hope, Greathed and Russel, and after some preliminary skirmishing in the outskirts of the city, he advanced by the line of the right bank of the Gomti where the ground favoured the approach to Sikandarbag, a building of 450 feet square with strong loop-holed walls, which was taken by storm with a loss of 2,000 men in killed to the enemy.

The next point of attack was Shah Najaf, a domed mosque and garden enclosed by a loop-holed wall. The position was defended by the rebels with great resolution against a heavy connonade which lasted three hours. At one time they clearly had advantage, but Captain Peel, bringing his heavy guns, and Hope entering the enclosure through jungle, put the enemy to flight and occupied the place.

On the morning of the 17th, the struggle re-opened with heavy connonade at the Mess House which was carried after six hours' firing. Only one building, the Moti Mahal, now intervened before Outram's position was reached. Here the enemy offered but slight resistance, so that Hope Grant was able to meet Outram and Havelock, and in a few moments more, Havelock and Outram joined Sir Colin Campbell, and were able to

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congratulate him upon the successful accomplishment of the second relief of Lakhnow.

Great was the feeling of satisfaction among the garrison only to be followed by something like consternation when it was announced that the Residency was to be abandoned within 24 hours as it was a false position. After a long discussion, in which Sir Colin Campbell overcame Havelock and Outram, the Residency was deserted at night, and the whole force, including the women, children and wounded, safely reached Dilkusha at day-break on the 23rd November. Here, on the next day, Sir Henry Havelock died at the age of 62, and his remains were intered in Alambag with demonstrations of respect and sorrow by the troops.

On the 27th November, leaving Outram in occupation of Alambagh, until he himself should return and expel the rebels from Lakhnow, Sir Colin Campbell started with the relieved garrison and a force of some 3,000 men for Kanhpur. Here he found that the rebels led by Tantia Topi, had advanced some 46 miles from Kalpi and not only occupied all salient positions up to the Ganges but also closed in upon Wyndham and compelled him to fall back to a weak position near the town with loss of camp and baggage. But nothing could be done before the safety of the women and wounded had been provided for, therefore, quickly getting the convoy across the Ganges *en route* for Allahabad, the Commander-in-Chief attacked the rebel force and drove them back to Kalpi without difficulty.

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Numbering 25,000, of whom nearly half were trained soldiers, the rebels rested their centre on the town, their right stretched out behind the canal on which they had thrown a bridge, and their left rested on the Ganges. The position was strong and they were very resolute and confident. Sir Colin's force, including the recently arrived troops, amounted to 5,000 Infantry, 600 Cavalry and 35 guns. The convoy was sent on the night of the 3rd December, and for two days Sir Colin remained watching the rebels to allow it a time to get beyond the reach of danger. Meanwhile the rebels harassed him by desultory attacks, but the hour of retribution was now at hand.

At 10 A. M. of the 6th, Wyndham began the battle by firing from all his guns upon enemy's left and centre. In two hours, during which the tempest of iron beat upon the houses of Kanhpur, the rebels crowded in streets and were destroyed in great numbers. The first object of Sir Colin was attained as the rebels brought down almost all the troops to repel the attack, leaving their right unprotected. Walpole, Hope and Inglis then turned upon the right, while the former crossing the canal, attracted the fire of the rebels, the two latter took a long sweep to the left and then wheeling round, charged the unprotected flanks of the rebels right. They drove the rebels from mound to mound despite their fierce resistance. At length they reached the bridge on the canal upon which the enemy had concentrated so strong an artillery fire that it seemed almost impossible to force the way across. For a time the struggle seemed doubtful, when a rumbling sound

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was heard and William Peel and his sailors, dragging a heavy 24-pounder, came up with a run, planted the gun on the bridge and opened fire. Simultaneously did the Highlanders, Sikhs and the 53rd men rush with loud shouts, dashed at the rebels, and drove them in wild disorder; gallant Bouchier with his gallopers soon followed, opened a brisk fire and completed the victory.

The Gwalior portion of the rebel force made, in wild flight, for Kalpi road where it was pursued by Sir Colin Campbell in person to 13 miles. They lost their camp, store, their magazine, a great part of their material and their prestige. The remainder of the rebels, consisting of the armed retainers of the revolted chiefs, fled towards Bithur, and had General Mansfield entrusted with their pursuit been careful enough, they would have been destroyed to a man. But that officer failing in his duty, Sir Hope Grant was subsequently sent to remedy his tremendous mistake. Grant caught them on the bank of the river as they were crossing it to enter Oudh, and completely defeated them, taking all their guns.

The rebels at Kanhpur having been all dispersed, Sir Colin intended to recover Duab, but he could not move before the carriage returned from Allahabad, and thus he was detained for a fortnight at Kanhpur. A force was advancing from Delhi under Seaton, and Walpole's brigade was sent to Mainpuri and Etawa to clear the way for it. Seaton defeated the rebels once between Gangari and Kasganj, and again at

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Patiali, and then made his junction with Walpole on the 3rd January 1858. Meanwhile, Sir Colin marched on the 24th December and reaching Miran-ki-Sarai on the 30th, forced his passage across the Kali Nadi in face of a very strong opposition on the 2nd January. The Nawab of Fatehgarh, a bitterest enemy of the English, was attacked and driven out of his fort on the 3rd and on the following day the brigades under Seaton and Walpole, joining the Commander-in-Chief, raised his force to more than 10,000 men.

After the successful operation against Fatehgarh, a question arose as to whether the subjection of Oudh or an immediate advance into Ruhelkhand should be the next move. Lord Canning advocated the former course and Sir Colin the latter. The views of the Governor-General prevailed and were loyally carried out by the Commander-in-Chief. But a long time was lost in discussion and preparation, and precious months of the cold season were allowed to slip away. Principal cause of the delay was also the expected support of the Nepal Gorkhas under Jang Bahadur to co-operate in the siege of Lakhnow.

The mutineers took advantage of their tactics to spread themselves in the country and strengthen Lakhnow by three strong ramparts mounted with 130 guns, besides erecting bastions, barricades, and loop-holed walls to command the streets. Fortunately the rebels neglected to provide for the defence of the nothern side of the position, and of this Sir Colin Campbell took full advantage when he finally captured Lakhnow.

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Leaving Seaton to hold Fatehgarh and the Duab and Walpole to make a demonstration against Ruhelkhand, the Commander-in-Chief collected his army, consisting of seventeen battalions of infantry, of which fifteen were British, twenty squadrons of cavalry, including four English regiments, fifty-four light and eighty heavy guns and mortars, on the plain between Unao and Banni in Oudh Meanwhile two powerful armies were marching from the east to join the siege of Lakhnow. Jang Bahadur at the head of 9,000 picked Gorkhas and 24 guns and accompained by Colonel Macgregor as political officer, crossing the Gogra at Phulpur on the 12th February and defeating the rebels at several places, pushed on speedily and reached the vicinity of Lakhnow on the 10th March. Brigadier-General Franks originally stationed at Azamgarh and Jounpur to prevent the rush of the Oudh rebels into Benares division, advanced striking repeated blows at the rebels and augmenting by fresh reinforcements his army of 5,000, of whom 3,000 were Nipalese and arrived at Lakhnow on the 5th March.

The forces thus being concentrated from all directions, the Commander-in-Chief moved early in March on Dilkusha which he occupied with slight opposition. The task of operating separately from the north or left bank of the Gomti, had been confided to Outram who crossed the river and took up a position three miles to the north of the city. While Sir Colin Campbell was to move directly to the city, Outram was to take the rebel position on rivers by heavy fire from the north. On the 11th March the Begam's palace

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was captured with a slight loss to the besieging force, though all mourned the death of fiery Hodson who was mortally wounded while searching the lurking rebels in the palace. Sikandar Bag, Shah Najaf and other strongholds of the enemy fell on the same day At length, on the 14th, when Engineers had completed their dangerous work of sapping through the houses in the line of the enemy's fire, General Franks was ordered to attack Kaisar Bag and Imambara. These buildings were rightly considered to be the keystones of the enemy's position, and they were stormed with such vigour and success that before night Lakhnow fell into British hands.

"It was late in the evening (21st March)," wrote Dr. Russel, the Time's Correspondent, "when we returned to camp through roads thronged with at least 20,000 camp followers, all staggering under the loads of plunder, the most extraordinary and undescribable spectacle I ever beheld. Coolies, Syces, Khidmatgars, Doli-bearers, grass-cutters, a flood of men covered with clothing not their own, carrying on heads and shoulders, looking-glasses, mirrors, pictures, brasspots, swords, firelocks, rich shawls, scarves, embroidered dresses, all the lost of ransacked palaces. The noise, the dust, the shouting, the excitement were almost beyond endurance. Lakhnow was borne away piecemeal to camp, and wild Gorkhas and Sikhs with open mouths and glaring eyes, burning with haste to get rich, were contending fiercely against the current as they sought to get to the sources of such unexpected wealth."

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Amidst all this excitement and jubilation the escape of a greater number of rebels across the river was much to be regreted; Outram was forbidden to cross the river to the southern bank on the 14th and to complete the effect of the capture of Kaisar Bag as he desired. A great chance was thrown away and this lost opportunity, followed by failure a few days later on the part of the cavalry in pursuit of other bands of flying enemy, pevented the fall of Lakhnow from being a final and crushing blow to the rebels as it ought to have been.

The province of Oudh was left swarming with armed rebels capable of resistance, and the very men who escaped on the 14th and 21st March, fell on the forts and strongholds of Oudh and Ruhelkhand to renew their efforts. Though the enemy, as an armed and organized body, were finally annihilated, yet after preparations, delays, and employment of large number of troops.

On the termination of the series of operations before Lakhnow which lasted about twenty days, the British army was broken and completely re-distributed. Again a difference of opinion arose between the highest civil and military authorities. The Viceroy intended that the conquest of Ruhelkhand should follow the retaking of Lakhnow, but the Commander-in-Chief was anxious to restrict operations for the moment, to clearing of Oudh.

Immediate action in Ruhelkhand and Oudh was therefore resolved on; and as the rapid movements of Sir Hugh Rose in Centrat India had freed Sir Colin

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Campbell from any anxiety in that direction, he was enabled to turn his individual attention to both the provinces at once. The rebels, though disorganized and also demoralized to some extent, were not yet resolved to surrender, and it became imperative that no time should be lost in following them up.

Three columns under Brigadier Walpole, Penny, and Jones were ordered to penetrate Ruhelkhand from different points supported by a fourth under Colonel Seaton, who had been protecting the country around Fatehgarh. All four columns were to converge upon Bareli where it was hoped, the main body of the rebels under Khan Bahadur Khan would be met, defeated and captured. Quitting Lakhnow on the 7th April 1858, and joining Walpole's brigade which advanced successfully, the Commander-in-Chief pushed on with a force of 7,500 men and 19 guns and was close to Bareli on the 4th May, Bahadur Khan, alive to his danger, crossed a river that ran between him and Sir Colin's camp with the first line of his troops and left the second line to defend the town and the Cantonments. Early next morning, Sir Colin Campbell moved forward, and after an action which lasted six hours, under a hot sun, practically gained possession of this position. With his usual solicitude for his wearied troops, he allowed them to halt in the hope of completing his victory on the next day, but Bahadur Khan fled with greater part of his army during the night, and the Commander-in-Chief took possession of Bareli without struggle.

The main part of the rebel force, which had escaped from Lakhnow into Ruhelkhund, got back into Oudh, and

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in the way the termination of the Ruhelkhand campaign was not more satisfactory than the result of the operations against Lakhnow. The Campaign was, however, followed by one great achievement which, with regard to its importance, was far more valuable than the destruction of a thousand rebels.

The Faizabad Maulvi, named Ahmad Allah, or (as he was called after arrogating to himself the title of king) Ahmad Shah, was the heart and soul of the mutiny. This was the man, who, with his high attainments in Arabic and Persian, and great natural power of eloquent speech, had been travelling in the country and exciting the people to rise in revolt against the English long before the mutiny, became a fact; this was the man who led the rebels at Lakhnow with undaunted gallantry and defied for a time the British arms; this was the man who harassed Colonel Hale and Brigadier Jones at Shahjahanpur with the daring opposition of a fortnight, and this was the man who twice foiled even Sir Colin Campbell in the field. Really he was the boldest, ablest and most formidable and determined enemy of the British Government, and the reward of Rs. 50,000 offered by Lord Canning for his capture, was not a farthing more than what the service rightly deserved. This man was killed by brother of Raja Jagannath Sing of Powain 13 miles to the north-east of Shahjahanpur. On his flight from Shahjahanpur the Maulvi took his force of rebels to Powain with the object of either extroting money from the Raja or forcing him to join the league. But the Raja was a staunch advocate of the British cause; just as the approach of the rebels was reported, he closed the

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gates of his fort and manned its walls with his armed retainers to strike a blow at the enemy. The Moulvi was trying to burst open the gates with the head of the elephant he was mounted on, when the Raja's brother inspired by the urgency of the occasion, seized a gun and shot him dead; his followers at once turned and fled. The head was immediately cut off the dead body and brought to Shahjahanpur to the great delight of the Magistrate and his friends who exposed it at conspicuous place of Kotwali for the information and encouragement of all concerned, and the Raja received the promised reward.

While taking measures for the pacification of the two provinces in the beginning of April, Sir Colin Campbell detailed an army corps under Hope Grant for the reconquest of Oudh. Hope Grant carried out his instructions to the letter; at Bari, twenty miles from Lakhnow, he defeated the rebels collected there under the Moulvi and the Begam of Lakhnow, marching eastward to Mohamadabad and following the course of the Gogra he found Bitaoli evacuated by the rebels, then covering the returns of the Nepal troops under Jang Bahadur, saw them on their way to the frontier and then returned to protect the Kanhpur and Lakhnow road then seriously threatened at Unao by the appearance of a notorious rebel, Beni Madho.

The Commander-in-Chief, after his conquest of Ruhelkhand, returned to Fatehgarh on the 25th May 1858, the weather being very hot and injurious to

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the health of the army, he was obliged to close the summer campaign to be resumed in the ensuing winter; the troops in Oudh were directed to remain on the defensive though being harassed by small bands of rebels they were kept in incessant movement.

Early in October the campaign was re-opened; the object was to advance into Oudh from two points simultaneously, a column was to march in a north-east direction driving the enemy from the Ruhelkhand frontier towards the Rapti river, and another was to advance from south-east against the districts situated to the south of Lakhnow between the Ganges and the Gogra. Both the columns were in their respective positions by the end of the month and established civil power as they pushed the rebels northward.

But the British arms would have had a far harder task if they had not been supported by diplomacy. Every Talukdar was persuaded to submit with assurance that his lands shall not be confiscated. The assurance accompanied with the converging columns, quickened the decision even of those who still wavered, and the consequence was that all the Rajas, Talukdars, and even the Begam sent their Vakils to the Commander-in-Chief to ask what terms they might expect. Each was leniently treated according to the merits of his particular case, and in course of time they almost all deserted the rebels who were much dispirited and whose number was much reduced.

Military operations were, however, resumed before the columns were fully organized, the rebels initiated

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them by attacking Sandela where Dawson held them in check until Major Maynard and Brigadier Burker inflicted on them a crushing defeat. In the same month Eveleigh defeated them at Mianganj and Seaton near Shahjahanpur, whilst the Raja of Pawain repulsed an attack made upon his fortified town.

Sir Colin Campbell now became Lord Clyde and carried out his plan with complete success. Rampur Kosia was stromed by Wetherall on the 3rd November, and Amethi was attacked and taken on the 8th by Wetherall and Hope Grant jointly on one side, and Lord Clyde in person on the other. Beni Madho was dislodged from Shankarpur on the 11th, defeated two days later at Dundia Khera by Eveleigh and completely annihilated by the Commander-in-Chief on the 24th.

Strong places in the eastern and southern districts of Oudh fell in succession, and by the first week of December that part of the province was completely subdued. Nor had the column sweeping north-western districts been less successful; Troup had cleared the ground as far as Sitapur; Gardon, Carmichel, and Harsford had done the same in the districts south of the Gogra, whilst Hope Grant, catching the rebels beaten by Rowcroft at Tulsipur, had swept them into Nepal. Then Lord Clyde, moving on Sikrora, and in touch with Grant on one side and Rawcroft covering Gorakhpur on the other, drove Nana Sahib and his brother, Bala Sahib, before him from Bondi and Bahraich, cleared the country between

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Nanpara and the Gogra, then marching on Banki close to Nepal frontier, surprised and defeated the rebels on the 1st December 1858, and swept the survivors into Nepal.

Most of the rebels desired only to be left unmolested in Nepal; but Jang Bahadur, loyal to the core, while warning the rebels that they must not look to him for protection, begged Lord Canning to order the British troops to come and hunt them down there.

Lord Clyde, rightly regarding the pacification of Oudh to be complete, quitted the province to join the Governor-General at Simla, leaving to it Hope Grant to carry out such operations as might be necessary. Early in 1859, the columns under Hope Grant drove the remnant of the rebels to the foot of the Himalaya; Walker crushed a body at Bangaon; Grant himself defeated at Nadi a more determined party that had returned with arms, many throwing away their arms stole back to their homes, and others still lurked in Tarai, a most unhealthy tract where being exposed to weather, sickness and starvation, they perished and disappeared in the hills.

Contending himself with locating troops to prevent their return, Grant reported in May 1859, that Oudh was at peace, but it was not till November 1859, that the last body of rebels, numbering 4,000 surrendered to Brigadier Holdich. This was the end of the mutiny that had begun in May 1857, and nothing in connection with it has occurred subsequently.

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SECTION II.

The Southern operations.

It was very fortunate that the administration of the Western Presidency during the mutinies was in the hands of Lord Elphinston, a very able, brave, and resolute man. From the moment he heard the dreadful news of its outbreak, he tried his head and heart not only to save his own presidency from the contagion, but also afforded every help to his contemporary heads of administration by all possible means. One of his early acts was to form and despatch a moveable column with the object of saving the line of the Narbada and of relieving Central India. This column marched from Puna on the 8th June 1857, and reached Orangabad on the 23rd under Major-General Woodburn, but this officer being compelled by sickness to resign the command, was succeeded by Colonel Stuart, who leaving Orangabad, on the 12th July, reached Asirgarh on the 22nd, and was met by Colonel Durand from Indore. Stuart marched to Mau, then proceeded to recover Gujri, protect Mandlesar, to bombard and capture the fort of Dhar, to disperse the rebels coming from Nimach, to crush rebellion in Malwa and to re-enter Indore in triumph on the 14th December 1857.

In the meantime, Sir Robert Hamilton, returning from furlough, had taken charge of his office of the Agent, Governor-General, for Central India. On being asked by the Governor-General to draw up a plan for the restoration of order in Central India, he suggested

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that a Bombay column, starting from Mau, should march, by way of Jhansi to Kalpi, and that a Madras column, starting from Jabbalpur, should march across Bundelkhand to Banda. The plan was sanctioned by Lord Canning and the Commander-in-Chief, and the operations of the two columns were to form part of a large general combination to restore order in Central India and to draw off the pressure of the Gwalior contingent on the rear of Sir Colin's army.

The officer selected to command the Bombay column was Major-General Sir Hugh Rose. In his early military career, which extended over thirty-seven years, he had been employed in suppressing disturbances in Ireland. In 1840 he had served with distinction in Syria. As Consal General at Beyront, as Secretary to the Embassy and subsequently as Chargé d'affairs at Constantinople, he had proved himself a clever diplomatist and a statesman of keen discernment and swift decision. Being desirous of serving in India after the Crimean war, he was given a division in the Bombay army where he reached on the 19th September 1857.

Sir Hugh Rose arrived at Indore on the 16th December; his force was composed of two brigades, the first under Brigadier Stuart at Mau and the second under Brigadier Steuart at Sehore, both amounting to about 4,500 men, of whom four regiments were native and three Europeans. In order to complete his arrangments, to give a little rest to the first brigade that had recently returned from the Malwa cam-

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paign and to wait the advance of the Madras column under General Whitlock, to which the duty of the relief of Sagar had been originally assigned, Sir Hugh spent some days at Mau and Indore. But finding that the Madras column was hopelessly in rear and could not reach Sagar before two months he marched to the latter place accompanied by Sir Robert Hamilton as Political Officer, leaving the first brigade to clear the Grand Trunk Road and to join him at Jhansi. He left Indore on the 6th January and putting himself at the head of the second brigade marched from Sehore on the 16th.

The formidable fort and town of Rahatgarh 24 miles west of Sagar and garrisoned by rebellious Walaitis and Pathans were invested on the 24th and taken possession of on the 26th; the Banpur Raja, one of the most determined leaders of the mutiny who came to the relief of the garrison, was defeated with the loss of a notorious character, named Fazl Khan; and on the 28th the place was entirely cleared of the existence of the enemy.

The rebels under the Raja then concentrated at Barodia, 15 miles from Rahatgarh, and there they were attacked and completely defeated with a loss of 500 men on the 30th January.

The garrison of Sagar, consisting of a Company of European artillery and forty loyal native, to protect 170 European women and children and a large arsenal had been confined to the fort for more than seven months. There were in the cantonment an infantry Regiment, the 31st and 100 irregular Cavalry, the most

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faithful among the faithless, but they were not trusted by the authorities nor allowed to enter the Fort. The natives of the town and villages around had been mercilessly robbed and put to great inconvenience. Sir Hugh Rose entered the place to the great satisfaction of all Europeans and Natives who received him with hearty welcome.

Having thus opened the roads to the north and west of Sagar, Sir Hugh Rose set himself to clear the way towards the east. This entailed the capture of the strong fort Garhkota built by French Engineers, 25 miles east of Sagar, where the 51st and 52nd mutinous regiments and other large bodies of rebels had established themselves and were devastating the country around. This fort was occupied on the 13th February, after a trying march through dense jungle with the enemy keeping up a running fight all the way.

The General's object after the capture of Garhkota was to reach Jhansi as quickly as possible, but he was detained 12 days for want of supplies and carriage to the great disadvantage of the service. Having procured these requisites as well as some guns and ammunition from Sagar arsenal, he resumed his march on the 26th February, but the rebels taking advantage of the enforced delay, had occupied certain forts and difficult passes in the mountainous ridges which separate Bundelkhand from the Sagar district.

The passes are three, Narut, Madanpur, and Dhamoni. Narut, the most difficult of them was further barricaded by the enemy that the British army must

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move through it, and the Banpur Raja superintended the defence. Dhamoni was second in difficulty. Madanpur being the easiest, was selected by Sir Hugh Rose to be the point of attack. This was defended by the 50th infantry regiment and a large number of picked Bundelas headed by Raja of Shahgarh.

In order to deceive the enemy as to his intentions and prevent the Banpur Raja from coming to rescue, Sir Hugh ordered a feint to be made against Narut, whilst he himself attacked Madanpur. He even marched some miles towards Narut with his whole force, and then counter-marching fell unexpectedly on Madanpur and inflicted such severe defeat on the rebels that they all fled precepitately to the jungles. The result of this success on the 3rd March was so satisfactory that daunted by the defeat the rebels evacuated without resistance the formidable pass of Nalthon and the forts of Narbat, Surahi, Marowra and Tal-Bhat, and Sir Robert Hamilton annexed the district to British possessions under a royal salute.

Colonel Stuart and the first brigade marched from Mau on the 10th January to join Sir Hugh at Jhansi, the Trunk Road to Guna was cleared by the Haidarabad Contingent directed by Captains Orr and Keatinge. Chanderi, the fort and town of which are famous for their strength from the time of Akbar, was held by the rebels, it would be unwise to leave it in the hands of the enemy in rear while advancing upon Jhansi, Colonel Stuart, therefore, took an easterly course from Guna, and though the enemy offered desperate resistance, captured the fort by storm on 17th March.

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Both the brigades then made a junction and were at Chauchanpur only 14 miles from Jhansi, when orders were received by Sir Hugh Rose from the Commander-in-Chief and by Sir R. Hamilton from Lord Canning, to march at once to the aid of loyal Rajas of Panna and Charkhari whose capitals were besieged and hardly pressed by the Gwalior Contingent under Tantia Topi. To obey the orders would be to commit a blunder scarcely conceivable, for Jhansi was the objective point of the campaign, the seat of the rebellion, and the stronghold of one of the authors and principal leaders of the mutiny; to leave it when so close in order to attack a distant fortress against which Whitlock was marching, would be an act devoid of common sense. Sir Robert Hamilton courageously took upon himself the responsibility of disobedience, and directed, in his official capacity, Sir Hugh Rose to proceed with his operations against Jhansi.

On the 21st March the army was before Jhansi and Sir Hugh Rose and his staff spent the whole day in reconnoitering. Jhansi, naturally strong with its fort and a double line of its city walls, was defended by about 10,000 Walaitis and Bundelas, by 1,500 mutinous infantry and 400 cavalry and by re-doubtable Rani in person. The force of Sir Hugh Rose was inadequate for the task in all arms particularly in artillery, and it was necessary to enfilade the city and invest it as completely as possible. To make up deficiency in siege train he brought up 9 and 6 pounder guns to fire on the enemy's defences and established seven flying camps, cavalry and horse artillery, posting native artillery and

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infantry at principal camps. These camps sent patrols to a considerable distance in every direction in order to prevent the rebels, leaving and entering the beleaguered city. Abattis and deep trenches were dug across the roads and tracks. Each camp on an attempt being made to force its line, had orders to call to its aid the neighbouring camps. An observatory and telegraph post was established from which, by the aid of a telescope, the besiegers could see right into the interior of the city.

Day and night a heavy fire was kept up on the fort and mamelon ; and day and night the rebels served their guns and repaired their defences. Some batteries returned shot for shot ; the native women were seen working on the walls and carrying ammunition ; and often the Rani herself with ladies in rich attire visited the " Black Tower " to see how the fight was going on. A gunner of the breaching battery, covering the Rani and the ladies, asked Sir Hugh Rose's permission to fire on them, but he was told such a warfare was not approved.

So well were the besieging batteries served that by the 30th March the defences of the fort and city were dismantled; and the enemies' guns were disabled ; and the General to save further expense of ammunition which he was running short, made arrangements for storming Jhansi on the next day. But the advance of the so-called army of the Peshwa (Nana)— which, to the number of 20,000 men, crossed the Betwa to relieve Jhansi under Tantia Topi, with reinforcements of heavy guns, engineering obstacles and other

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materials of war—caused the assault to be deterred. In fact, believing that nearly all the English force was scattered in the investment, and that he could easily destroy the few who guarded the camp, Tantia sought battle with the besieging army.

On the 31st March, flags were seen from the observatory, and at sunset the enemy lit an immense bonfire on a hill between the Betwa and Jhansi to announce their arrival; these signals were answered by saloos from the fort and city batteries, by shouts of joy and bugling from the defenders. It was a moment of deep anxiety to Sir Hugh Rose, and his military capacity was to be tested by no mean ordeal; but he grasped the situation cooly and relying on himself, and the spirit of his troops resolved to fight a general action with the new enemy without relaxing the siege and investment.

With troops not on actual duty, amounting to 1,500 only, Sir Hugh Rose marched at night to intercept Tantia Topi who, at four o'clock in the morning, advanced towards the point where the British force lay ready for action. When the rebels came within striking distance, Sir Hugh opened fire, then simultaneously attacking their right and left doubled both up on the centre and then sent his infantry to charge it. These three blows delivered with perfect precision, so surprised the rebels that their first line broke and fled. The second line led by Tantia in person was covered by a belt of jungle; in order to save the line and guns he fired the jungle and retreated. The men with Tantia were of the Gwalior contingent who, true to the

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teaching of the old British conducted the retreat so orderly that they succeeded in carrying their guns and also some of the fugitives of the first line across the Betwa. But the British Cavalry and horse artillery dashing at gallop through the burning jungle, followed Tantia for several miles and did not cease to pursue until they had captured every one of the 28th guns, stores and camp equipage. Tantia lost 1,500 men and fled to Kalpi, and the whole of the Peshwa's army which, by threatening Charkhari, had so alarmed the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, was dispersed and broken. Charkhari was already an affair of the past. All this was done by a handful of disciplined men led by a determined and skilful General.

The garrison of Jhansi was very much disappointed by their expected relief, being cut off at the last moment, and Sir Hugh Rose was not slow to take advantage of their depression and of the fresh energy infused into the besieger. The breach had been already declared practicable, and it was resolved to deliver the assault early at 3 o'clock on the morning of the 3rd April. The force assigned for the duty was divided into two parts, the right and left, and each part again sub-divided into two columns and reserve. At the signal of the guns of a detachment which was to make a feint against the western wall, the right part was to escalade the wall, while the right column of the left part to storm the breach and the left to escalade a tower known as the "rocket tower," and the curtain on its right. At the given signal the sappers moved on with ladders hoist-

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ed on their shoulders and troops followed with their swords and bayonets glistening in the moonlight; immediately as they approached the wall, the blast of bugles were heard, the wall and tower were lighted up by a sheet of fire, and roundshot, bullets and rockets flew down upon them; and as the sappers planted the ladders, the bullets flew more thickly, cannons roared, rockets hissed and burst, tom-toms clashed, stink pots, stones, blocks of wood and trees crashed down from the wall, and the columns, momentarily wavering, sought shelter from the pelting storm. The sappers still stood fast under the wall, and presently the stormers regained their courage and began to climb; some men were thrown to the ground by snapping of the ladders, when engineers ran up one of the ladders and not only sprung on the wall but also leaped down into the midst of the rebels; the men then clambered up from behind and gained the rampart. While the battle was raging on the rampart, men of the left part having fought their way through the breach or over the curtain, threw themselves on the flank and rear of the rebels and paralysing them by this unexpected movement, drove them all back. Both the parts now made a junction and began to push on their victory.

After a hard street fighting in which every house was desperately defended and resolutely stormed, the soldiers reached the further end of the street and streaming through the palace gate, fought their way from room to room until the whole building was in their hands. There was a terrible fight with some forty

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Walaiti Sawars of the Rani's body guard whose room attached to the stable was set on fire. They rushed out with cloths aflame and hacked wildly with their Talwars at the assailants, but every man of them was put to the sword. Here were captured some thirty standards and an English Union Jack which had been given by Lord William Bentinck to a former Raja of Jhansi with permission to have it carried before him as a reward for his fidelity.

The next day, April 4th, the remainder of the city was captured and occupied. In the evening the Rani, accompanied by 300Walaitis and 25 Sawars, left the fort and fled towards Kalpi. It was afterwars discovered that her horse had been brought in the fort ditch and after being let down from a window in the turret, she was placed in the saddle with her step-son in her lap and thus escaped. On the morning of the 5th, Sir Hugh Rose occupied the fort without meeting any resistance.

Thus ended the siege of Jhansi with a loss of 5,000 men in killed to the rebels, and of 343 in killed and wounded to Sir Hugh Rose. After sending Major Orr to prevent the rebels from recrossing the Betwa to south, Major Gall to proceed in advance to Kalpi to procure information of the movements of the rebels and securing the possession of Jhansi by leaving sufficient garrison, Sir Hugh Rose marched upon Kalpi on the 25th April 1858.

On the way to Kalpi and 42 miles from it, a battle was fought on the 5th May at Kunch. The rebels were defeated with a loss of 6,000 men, and Sir Hugh Rose

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pushed on his march to Kalpi and took up his post at Gulawle on the right bank of the Jamna only 7 miles from Kalpi.

The rebels beaten at Kunch were so discouraged and demoralized that they quarrelled among themselves as they trudged back to Kalpi. The infantry cursed the cavalry for pusillanimously deserting them at the critical moment; and all ranks joined in abusing Tantia for running away to his home before the battle came to close. They would have certainly dispersed in the country on Sir Hugh's arrival, had not the timely junction with them of the mutinous cavalry under the Nawab of Banda infused some fresh courage in them; and the Rani of Jhansi and Rao Sahib, a nephew of Nana, adjured them to hold their only remaining stronghold to the last.

Sir Hugh Rose, in his turn, had been reinforced by a column under Brigadier George Maxwell, sent by the Commander-in-Chief to the left bank of the Jamna; and actual junction with the column was made on the 15th May by throwing over the river two pontoon rafters brought from Puna.

By this time sickness had made fearful inroads on the strength of the army, and Dr. Arnott, the Superintending Surgeon, reported that the greater of the force, officers as well as men, were ill from sunstroke; he declared that if operations were protracted for more than a few days, the entire column would be absolutely prostrated. But Kalpi was fortunately taken before the expiry of the term specified by Dr. Arnott.

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On the 21st, the batteries of Sir Hugh Rose opened fire, and on the 22nd he delivered his attack; the battle that ensued was the fiercest and most hotly contested of that terrible war; and on one phase of it the rebels, strongest on the decisive point, gained an actual advantage. Animated by a confidence they had never felt before the rebels advanced within twenty yards of the battery and the outpost tents, full of men, struck down by the sun; Brigadier Stuart, aware of the danger put himself by the guns and bade the gunners to defend them with their lives; in a quarter of an hour there would have been a massacre. But just at the moment the British were well nigh exhausted, the timely arrival of 150 men of the camel-corps turned the tide and converted defeat into victory. The defeat inflicted on the rebels was decisive and they dispersed in all directions broken and dispirited. Next morning, the 23rd May, Sir Hugh Rose entered Kalpi; hardly a human being was to be seen, but pigs and dogs were found fighting over the corpses that lay scattered in the streets. Vast quantities of stores, ammunition, guns, &c., were found in the fort which was central depot for the rebel army on the south and between the Jamna and the Ganges.

Sir Hugh Rose succesfully accomplished the task allotted to him, he had a right to expect some rest being allowed to him and his leave being sanctioned, he actually prepared to start to Puna to recruit his shattered health; but the news received on the 4th June, which caused throughout India a sensation hardly less than that caused by the first mutiny of

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May 1857, at once frustrated his plans and he was obliged to resume his duties immediately.

The news was to the effect that the Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Topi recollecting their scattered followers, marched upon Gwalior, that on the 1st June Maharaja Sindhia advanced to meet them at the head of 6,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry and 600 his own bodyguard, that at Bahadurpur, where the two armies met, the Gwalior troops rebelled against their master who being fired from both sides, fled to Agra and reached there with great difficulty, accompanied by only a few faithful servants and the rebels taking possession of the town and fort of Gwalior, plundered the Maharaja's treasury and jewels and prepared for defence with about 60 guns and abundant arsenal.

Sir Hugh Rose had already sent, on the 25th May, a column under Colonel Robertson in pursuit of the rebels on their flight from Kalpi, and on hearing from that officer that the rebels took the road to Gwalior, had sent on the 1st June, Colonel Stuart with a part of the 1st Brigade to reinforce Robertson. A few days' rest had revived him, and just as the startling news was received, he telegraphed to Lord Canning and Sir Colin Campbell that he was glad to take the command of the force ordered to recapture Gwalior; his offer was accepted with thanks for the generous devotion to public service. Brigadier-General Napier, who had been nominated to be his successor, willingly offered to serve as second in command, and Sir Hugh Rose was glad to have so able an officer to assist him. Starting on the 5th June and overtaking Stuart at

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Induki on the 12th, reached Bahadurpur the scene of Sendhia's defeat on the 16th June. The march was attended with considerable difficulty from absence of roads, want of maps, rivers difficult to be crossed and heat so intense that the thermometer once stood at 130° and burst. Sir Hugh's plan was to invest Gwalior most closely and to attack it on the weakest point, the investing troops to cut off the escape of the rebels. With great trouble he ascertained that the weakest side of Gwalior the best suited for the attack was the east where the city was commanded by high hills.

The first position of the rebels strengthened by infantry, cavalry and artillery, fronting his force, was the Murar Cantonment. Feeling certain that his men would be reinvigorated rather than fatigued by an immediate action, and that the morale of the enemy would be damped by his attacking them, unexpectedly he marched against Murar soon after his arrival at Bahadurpur at 6 A. M. on the 16th June and completely defeated the rebels in a single action.

The capture of the Murar cantonment, which was the first defeat, sustained by the combined forces of the Kalpi and Gwalior rebels, enabled Sir Hugh Rose at once to open communication with Agra, and Brigadier Smith at Kota-ki-Sarai and to reconnoiter Gwalior from the east.

In the meantime, Brigadier Smith had a sharp encounter with the enemy and was able partially to occupy the heights to the east of Gwalior in spite of determined opposition at Kota-ki-Sarai, seven miles

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south-east of Gwalior. Among the fugitives of the rebel rank in this action was the resolute woman who, alike in council and on field, was the soul of the conspirators. Clad in the attire of a man—white turban, red jacket and trousers, and mounted on horseback, the Rani of Jhansi might be seen animating her troops throughout the day. When Smith, reaching the summit of a defile, launched against the rebels, a squadron of the 8th Hussars under Captain Heneage, the Rani of Jhansi boldly fronted the British horsemen. When her comrades failed her, her horse against her effort carried her along with them. In this unwilling flight she was struck with a carbine bullet but still she kept herself firmly in the saddle. Even then she might have escaped with others, but her horse, while crossing the canal near Phul Bag cantonment, stumbled and fell. A Hussar, close upon her track, ignorant of her sex and rank, dealt her a blow with his sabre. She fell to rise no more. Her devoted followers, determined that the English might not boast of capturing her even dead, took her to the tent where she distributed all her jewels and ornaments—including Sendhia's celebrated pearl necklace, taken at Gwalior—to the troops, and when she died, her funeral ceremonies were performed by Ram Rao Gobind. Thus died Lakshmi Bai, the Rani of Jhansi at the age of 20 years, the bravest and ablest military leader of the rebels, admired if not lamented even by her enemies.

The rebels, though beaten, were still numerous, and the position taken by Smith for the night left him exposed to the attack of their united force. There-

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fore, leaving Napier with one column at Murar, Sir Hugh Rose, on the 18th, opened commuuication with Smith, and cutting off the rebels from Gwalior, sent on the 19th, Stuart to attack their left, whilst Raines should amuse them on the right. One consequence of it on the same evening was the capture of the city of Gwalior effected without bloodshed through the useful interposition of Captain (afterwards Sir Richard) Meade. He happened to be well known to the Gwalior men and gallantly, volunteered to go forward alone to the palace court-yard, which was full of armed and excited soldiery, to persuade them to submit peaceably and to give up the palace. They fortunately recognized him, and after some delay acted on his advice. Captain Meade came back unhurt to the General and reported that the force could move forward. The troops now entered the town without difficulty and took possession of Sendhia's palace with the intention of capturing the fort in the morning.

In the early morning of the 19th June, Sir Hugh Rose moved with General Stuart's brigade to the left of the Gwalior rock where it was not precipitate, covering the movement by sending the 25th N. I. well supported round the same sort of ground on the right whence they could scramble up the rock above the gateway of the fort. By an extraordinary act of daring on the part of two British officers, Rose and Waller, the former of whom lost his life in the action, the apparently impregnable fort of Gwalior was stormed and successfully captured in the grey dawn of the 20th.

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Sure of his success before hand, Sir Hugh Rose had instructed Napier on the 19th to pursue the rebels as far and as close-by as possible. Accordingly, Napier set out on the 20th, and the following morning came up with the enemy, about 12,000 strong, posted at Jaora Alipur. He at once attacked and defeated them, taking 25 guns and all their ammunition, tents, carts and baggage. This victory, which was their death blow for the time, apparently finished the campaign.

Maharaja Sendhia, accompanied by Sir Robert Hamilton and Major Charters Macpherson, re-entered his capital on the 20th June 1858. The General and a number of officers of rank went out to meet him; a squadron of the 8th Hussars and another of the 14th Light Dragoons escorted him to his palace, and the streets, through which he passed, were thronged by thousands of citizens who greeted him with enthusiastic acclamations. The Maharaja was anxious to present a medal with his device, a serpent to all the officers and men of the Central India Field Force, together with six months' Bhatta; Lord Canning approved the presentation of the medal, but permission was refused by the Home Government.

The work having been accomplished by the restoration of Maharaja Sendhia, Sir Hugh Rose made over the command to Sir Robert Napier and proceeded, covered with laurels to Bombay to assume there the office of Commander-in-Chief of that Presidency. He was created a G. C. B., and his name was mentioned in the vote of thanks in the Houses of Parliament to the troops engaged in the Mutiny Campaign on which

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occasion the Earl of Derby, the Duke of Cambridge, and Lord Palmerston and other distinguished Statesmen bestowed high praises on him.

SECTION III.

Pursuit of Tantia Topi.

On his defeat at Jaora-Alipur, Tantia Topi, accompanied by Rao Sahib and the Nawab of Banda, fled across the Chambal into Rajputana. His movement showed that he intended an attack on Bharatpur, but a detachment having been already sent by Brigadier Showers to cover that place, Tantia was obliged to change his course from Sarmathra towards Jaipur where he believed a strong party was prepared to rise in his favour. In this also he was foiled by General Roberts, commanding the Rajputana Field Force, who, learning from Captain Eden, the Political Agent, that Tantia's emissaries were instigating the disaffected people of Jaipur to join him on his arrival, reached Jaipur before Tantia could expect to be there. Tantia then turned southward and made an attack on Tonk. Nawab Wazir Muhammad Khan was, by no means, disposed to submit to the rebel leader; he boldly opposed him, and with a comparatively little force, repulsed the attack of the enemy then numbering about 17,000 men, though four of his guns were lost in the action. Colonel Holmes was, meanwhile, on their heels, and Tantia fled to Madhopur and Indargarh, pursued by Holmes and at a longer interval by Roberts.

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Disappointed of all help in Rajputna, Tantia made up his mind to return to the Marahta Country, but in order to carry out this plan it was necessary to cross the Chambal which was impossible, as the rains for twelve days fell so incessantly that flight and pursuit were alike retarded. He then changed his course to south-west and went to Bundi, but Mahora Ram Singh shut the gates of Bundi against the fugitive. Tantia, pursued by Holmes, had no time to use force but marched a few miles southward, then making a sudden tour west-ward, crossed the Bundi hills by the Kinas pass and made for the fertile country between Nasirabad and Nimach.

Roberts, with the object of covering Ajmere, made the same westerly movement as the enemy had made, but for a time he was at a loss to procure information as to their further movement. While at Dabla on his march foom Sarwar towards Nimach on the subsidence of the floods, Roberts was informed on the 7th August that Tantia had taken position between Bhilwara and Sanganer, the latter situated on a little river named Kotaria, ten miles from his camp; and well aware that all his cavalry and a portion of his infantry under Holmes were following the enemy's track and he himself was in front, he thought the opportutnity too good to be thrown away and resolved to attack though without cavalry. Accordingly he advanced and on his approach to the river, caught sight of the enemy encamped on the opposite side in front of Bhilwara. Under the cover of an artillery fire from Tantia's guns, his troops crossed the stream, but after

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ascending the further bank, they had only time to throw a few shells before the rebels, now in full retreat were out of range and reached a village named Kotra.

On the 9th August, Roberts was joined by his much required cavalry and set out in pursuit of the rebels with rapid marches, till on the 13th he came up with their advanced guard at Kankroli. On driving in the rebel-out-posts, Roberts learnt that their main force was occupying a position on the Banas, 7 miles distant.

The excellent information, which enabled General Roberts to traverse the chord of a circle whilst the rebels had gone by the arc, was obtained by the means of sending out mixed parties of Baluchi and Jaipur Sawars, while both of them had no sympathy with the rebels, the latter had the advantage of local knowledge and facility of communicating with the villagers.

On the 13th August, Tantia had been to the shrine of Nathdwara, whence he returned at midnight, and hearing that his pursuers were close behind him, ordered the bugle to be sounded. But his infantry being exhausted, refused to march and to allow the guns to be taken, the cavalry, they said, might act as they thought proper. Tantia was thus obliged to prepare for the fight, and early next morning when Roberts approached the river, he found the opposite bank lined with rebels. As soon as they had fired a few rounds from their guns, they abandoned their position, leaving four guns. The cavalry led by Colonel Naylor,

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pursued them for two miles, dealing and receiving death. Naylor then formed up his men, and under orders from the General, kept up a steady and orderly pursuit for 15 miles, killing numbers of stragglers and capturing three elephants and a quantity of baggage, but his force mustering only 150 horse and the country being quite unfit for cavalry, he was obliged to abandon the pursuit.

On the fourth day after this action, Roberts met Brigadier Park in command of Nimach brigade at Puna, a village near Chittore, and entrusted further operations to him enjoining on him to prevent Tantia from breaking away to the south. Parke, under the necessity of recuriting horses, went to Nimach where he was puzzled by the conflicting reports regarding the movement of the rebels, the local authorities told him that they could not cross the Chambal in its flooded condition, while Captain Showers, the Political Agent of Mewar that they were determined to cross the river anyhow. His march was delayed, and though on coming to know the real state of affairs, he made great effort to catch the rebels before they could cross the river, he reached it only in time to see them disappearing to its other bank. He then returned to Nimach to refit his column.

Forces under Colonels Lockhart and Hope were sent under the apprehension that Tantia might attack and plunder Ujjain, but instead of going there, he went to Jhalra-Patan. What the rebels did at Jhalra-Patan, will be related in connection with that State.

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In the beginning of September, Tantia marched out of Jhalawar, reinforced by fresh levies, guns and equipage and intended to make for Indore. The idea was a bold one and held out the hope of success. He represented the cause of Nana whom every Marahta regarded as Peshwa, had Tantia reached Indore without interruption. Hulkar's troops would have joined him and not only would the revolt have spread throughout the Indore State, but all the work, which his pursuers had done, would have been undone. But the rebels had no sufficient confidence in each other to carry out the daring plan conceived by their leader.

Lockhort and Hope met at Nalkhera where they were joined by General Michel who was soon after appointed to the command of Malwa and Rajputana. Hearing that the rebels were near, he marched to within a few miles of Rajgarh where they had taken a position; but Tantia was not inclined to fight and his only object was flight. His army of 8,000 men fled from an army of less than 1,300 and left their 30 guns behind them.

For weeks the fugitives wandered about aimlessly in the jungles; sometimes breaking up into divisions under Rao Sahib and Tantia and at other rejoining each other. During this time they were twice defeated by Michel once at Mangrouli on the 9th October, and again at Sindas on the 19th October. At last they rushed southward and crossed the Narbada 40 miles north-east of Hoshangabad. Tantia's object was to gain Nagpur, but being prevented by pursuing columns alike from breaking through the Melghat, entering

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Khandesh and dashing over the Satpara hills and crossing the Tapti he was obliged to move westward to Kargun and there halted to refresh his faded followers.

The Indore authorities taking fright, he might on his retrogade movement take stand on the Grand Trunk Road, break down the telegraphic wire and interrupt communication between Bombay and Rajputana, sent two small infantry detachments from Mau to watch the Narbada fords at Akbarpur. Major Sutherland, in command of one of these detachments, marched to different places in search and pursuit of the rebels, and at last he came to Rajpur which they were leaving at the time of his arrival and before which they had actually cut the telegraphic wire. After an advance of about 8 miles more he found them perched on a rocky rick crowning a jungle where they stood to fire a few rounds of musketry and grape, but the British force charged up the slope and captured their guns, and they were gone in a moment. Next day, Sutherland resumed the pursuit, but as he drew near the Narbada, he had the mortification to see them comfortably encamped on the opposite bank which he was unable to reach.

This northward movement of Tantia Topi greatly disturbed the resident of Baroda, but Brigadier Parke, who had been to Charwa on the south of the Narbada, followed the rebel with his flying column and defeated him at Chota Udaipur on the 1st December. The safety of Baroda was secured, and the resident was relieved of his anxiety.

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Now Tantia was wandering in the dense forests of Banswara. The passes leading to Gujrat on the west were completely closed by General Robert's troops; on the north and east were the difficult ranges which separate the tract from Udaipur and Sirohi; a force detached from Nimach under Major Rocke guarded the passes to the north and north-west; another column sent from Mau under Colonel Benson, commanded temporarily by Colonel Somerset, watched the passes leading to the east and south-east; on the south towards the Narbada abandoned for ever, the recent pursuers were strengthened by flying detachments from Burhanpur and Khandesh; while Tantia was thus hemmed in on all sides, the Bhils of Banswara were waiting to fall upon him when the end should come and the British commanders believed that at last they had caught him.

Rao Sahib was now his only companion, the Nawab of Banda having, in November, taken advantage of the Royal proclamation to surrender. But these two men were in this hour of supreme danger as cool, bold and fertile in resources as at any previous period of their career. Undaunted Tantia pressed deeper into the jungle, halted two days to allow his men to reunite at Deogarh Baria and entered Banswara on the 10th December. Here he plundered 17 camel loads of cloth from Ahmadabad and would have halted longer, but hearing the advance of Somerset's column from Ratlam, marched in north-westerly direction to Salumar where he obtained some supplies. He now intended to surprise Udaipur, but finding that Major Rocke's column was at Bhainsrugarh to intercept him, he turned to the north-

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east and took up a position at Bhilwara, a village in the dense part of the jungle. Here, Tantia and his followers are said to have been inclined to surrender, but the information that Man Sing was at hand and Prince Firoz Shah was advancing to their assistance, induced them to persevere in their resistance and once again to try their fortune.

The same information caused a change in the disposition of the English troops, Somerset's column was sent to Agra to check Firoz Shah's advance and Rocke with only 200 infantry, two guns, and a handful of cavalry, was moved to take his place opposite to Partabgarh where Tantia came from Bhilwara.

Rocke could take no offensive action with such a small force at his command, and therefore he took a position about two miles from three passes on that side with the view of marching to any one of them from which the rebels might threaten to debouch. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th December, Tantia emerged from the jungle, found himself face to face with Rocke, and after engaging him for two hours during which his elephants and baggage cleared the pass, marched to Mandesor and thence to Zirapur.

Colonel Benson, who had been watching the passes into Malwa, started in pursuit and got close enough to the fugitive to capture six of their elephants at Zirapur on the 29th, and Brigadier Somerset came up to continue the pursuit and caught them at Baroda where, after standing the fire of his artillery for a few minutes, they turned and fled.

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From Baroda, Tantia moved to Nahargarh in Kota where he was fired at by the Kiladar, and escaping the range of the guns, was met by Man Sing, a rebel against Maharaja Sendhia. The rebels passing through Paroun, pushed on northward to Indargarh Man Sing having left them from the Chambal. They reached Indargarh on the 13th January 1859, and were joined by Firoz Shah with his body guard and the 12th Irregulars.

At Indargarh, the rebels were again hemmed in by the British troops; Sir Robert Napier pursuing Firoz Shah from north and north-east, Showers coming from Agra on the north-west, Somerset on the east, Smith on the south-east, Michel and Benson on the south, and Honner, advancing from Nasirabad on the west and south-west, closed around them as a net, which it seemed impossible at a time to break through. But resources of Tantia Topi were not yet entirely exhausted, escaping in a north-westerly direction, he made a forced march to Deosa in the Jaipur State.

Brigadiers Showers and Honner getting the information of this movement, set out immediately; but Showers starting from Khushalgarh and having shorter roads to traverse, arrived first and was joined by Jaipur and Bharatpur troops under their respective Political Agents. In an action, which took place on the 16th January, 300 rebels were killed or disabled, and the remainder succeeded in escaping towards Bairath and Nimka Thana.

Colonel Holmes, with a light column, had been sent from Nasirabad, and with forced marches, he surprised

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the rebels at Sikar on the 21st January, so completely that they abandoned their horses, camels and even arms and fled in utmost confusion. This defeat inaugurated the break up of Tantia's army. He had been quarrelling with Rao Sahib, expressing his inability to flee continually, and some Thakurs related to Man Sing, had joined the camp; with them Tantia left the force attended by only three servants and went to Man Sing in the Proun jungle; Firoz Shah and the 12th irregulars also separated from the force; and 600 rebels surrendered to the Maharaja of Bikaner at whose intercession the Government well pleased to be saved the trouble of hunting them down, ordered them to go their homes stipulating only that any one subsequently convicted of murder, should be brought up, if required for execution.

Meanwhile, Rao Sahib, with three or four thousand followers, pushed first westward and then to the south, reached Kushani, in Jodhpur on the 10th February. But Honner was on his track; overtaking him on the same day, attacked and defeated him, killing 200 of his followers. Rao Sahib fled southward and cleared the Chatarbhuj pass on the 15th February, but finding that the column under Somerset was still close to him, turned down to the Banswara jungles. There also the passes on the south and east were closed, therefore he moved to the north-east. As he fled before Somerset, who followed closely on his track, there occurred a great diminution in his followers. Like Tantia they were "tired of running away." The majority of them fell out of the line

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during the retreat, threw away their arms, and quickly took the road to their homes, about 200 Musalmans of Ruhelkhand gave themselves up; and the chiefs and other irreconciables made their way to the Sirouj jungles where sometimes disguised as mendicants, at others acting as marauders, they tried to obtain food from villages. Military operations ceased as the organized oppsition to the Goverument disappeared.

Of the leaders of this long campaign, Rao Sahib wandered from place to place till he was arrested in the hills, north of the Punjab, brought to Kanhpur and was hanged on the 20th August 1862, being convicted of his offences by a regular trial. Firoz Shah was more successful, in eluding the vigilance of his pursuers and fled in the disguise of a pilgrim to Karbala (in Arabia) where he lived for a long time. The fate of Tantia Topi, who had fled to Man Singh, has a little history of its own.

Man Singh, with Tantia, now associated, had a few months before been deprived of his estates by his overlord, Maharaja Sendhia, had rebelled against him, and having been attacked by Napier who could not overlook any disturbance though unconnected with the mutiny, had entered upon the career of an outlaw. Tantia had thrown himself at the protection of Man Singh and felt himself safe as no pursuers could follow him in the pathless mazes of the jungle to his hiding place. It struck to the mind of Napier, that Man Singh, with the object of regaining his lost

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wealth and position, might court the good officers of the British and gaining over Man Singh, would result in the capture of Tantia. Major Richard Meade, who had been already sent in command of a small detachment to clear the country and to attack Tantia and Man Singb, was instructed to carry out the scheme, if practicable, and he performed the duty admirably. Hearing that Narayan Sing, the Thakur of Sirsi Mau, where he was encamped, was a relative of Man Sing, he induced the Thakur to bring Man Sing's Dewan and managed through the Dewan the surrender of Man Sing and his family. The safety of Man Sing's life and his subsistence were first guaranteed, and in regard to the restoration of his estate, the only promise was made that his claims might be taken into consideration. On the 2nd April, Man Sing gave himself up and being induced in a few days to believe that in order to establish his claim to indulgence, he must make himself useful to Government, on the 7th he informed Major Meade that he was prepared to apprehend Tantia. Tantia knew that Man Sing had surrendered, but he had not the slightest idea that he would betray his trust by having him arrested. On the 5th April he sent message to Man Sing, to ask him whether he would advise him to rejoin Firoz Shah or to remain where he was. Man Sing sent word in reply that he would come and see him in three days. On the third day a party of native soldiers, headed by an intelligent native officer, was ordered by Major Meade to go with Man Sing and to do what he says. That evening, Man Sing went to see Tantia in fulfil-

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ment of his promise; Tantia again asked his advice as to his going away or remaining there, and Man Sing told that he would give him a definite answer in the morning. But Tantia was arrested before that morning, for, Man Sing, returning the same evening, took with him the party of soldiers and pointed out to them at midnight Tantia in sound sleep. He was seized, brought before Meade and conveyed to Sipri. There he was tried by a Court-Martial, found guilty and hanged on the 18th April 1859, and the great Indian mutiny ended with his death.

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PART II.

RAJPUTANA.

CHAPTER I.

General.

The province of Rajputana, consisting of 18 Native States, the British district of Ajmer and the Nimach Cantonment, was under the Political Administation of Colonel George St. Patrick Lawrence, the Agent, Governor-General. The Ajmer district, situated in the centre of Rajputana, was for the civil administration subject to the authority of the Lieutenant-Goveror of North-Western Provinces; and Nimach, though belonging to Gwalior in Central India, was included in Rajputana, the Agent, Governor-General, for which was the Commissioner of Nimach and the Political Agent of Mewar had his head quarters in the Cantonment.

At five important of the Native Courts, Udaipur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bharatpur and Kota, were Political Agents, representing the Supreme Government in subordination to the Agent Governor-General, while all other States were under his own direct supervision without any Political Agent. The Vakils of all the Rajputana States attended the Agent Governor-General, as they do now, but at that time they never left him even while he was marching on his tour, so that his movements

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formed a gigantic camp. In those days when the Railways, the telegraph, and even Post Offices to some extent, were things of futurity, the Vakils were the best means of communication between the Agent Governor-General and the several princes, keeping their masters informed of the views and orders of the Government, and the Agent Governor-General, of everything of moment that occurred in their respective States.

Colonel George Lawrence possessed many of the good qualities of his famous brothers, Henry and John. He was high spirited, conscientious, decided, a lover of truth and justice, frank, and straightforward. In his early career he earned the distinction of a cavalry officer, and subsequently, during the arrangement which followed the conquest of Afganistan, he played a considerable part as a political officer. After the murder, which he witnessed, of the envoy, and the annihilation of the British Army, he shared the captivity of Eyre Colin Mackenzie, and the last survivors of General Elphinston's Army. Employed in the most responsible position at Peshawar after the first Sikh war, he was taken prisoner by the Afgan allies of the Sikhs during the second. Released after the peace conquered at Gujrat, he continued to give to the Government able and conscientious service in political department latterly at Mewar. In March 1857, on the transfer of his brother, Sir Henry, to the higher post of Chief Commissioner of Oudh, George Lawrence was appointed to act for Sir James Outram as Agent to the Governor-General for the whole of Rajputana, a post which he was extremely well fitted for.

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Of all the provinces of northern India, Rajputana passed through the trying period of 1857-58 with smallest injury to itself and with the least infliction of sufferings. Parcelled out into so many sovereign States, each ruled by its own independent prince, the circumstance may seem surprising, but the causes are not far to seek. No province of India had suffered so much and so recently as Rajputana from lawlessness, which characterised the sway immediately preceding the suzerainty of Britain, the sway of the Marahtas. Rajputana was partly taken under British protection in 1803 with the treaties concluded by Lord Lake in furtherance of the liberal policy of Marquess of Wellesley, but his successors, Lord Cornwallis and George Barlow, reversed that policy and left the country to its fate. A system of gross oppression and misrule prevailed until Marquess of Hastings reverted to the policy of his great predecessors, and Sir Charles Metcalfe under his directions concluded with the Rajputana princes in 1817-18, the treaties by which the princes and the people were secured against the invasions of the external enemies and were forbidden to fight among themselves. It is unnecessary to go back to the miserable consequences of a century of Marahta misrule prior to the advance of the English in 1803, since the suffering, humiliation and loss which these noble princes were subjected to in the short interval of twelve years between 1805 and 1817, are beyond calculation. One of the numerous causes of their misfortune was the great international war waged for the hand of Bai Krishna Kumari of

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Udaipur, and claims of Dhoukal Singh, supported by Jaipur to the throne of Jodhpur that sank the three principal States to the bottom and deprived their people of the safety of life and property. It was the extension of British protection to these States that restored their peace and prosperity. The period of forty years that passed to 1857, was not long enough to make them forget the grinding tyranny of the Marahtas and the wretched condition to which they had been reduced by it ; and men were still living who had a full experience of the marvellous change. Under fostering care of the British Government, reforms were inangurated, state debts were paid off, inhuman sacrifices were abolished, and general condition of the society was improved. The Rajputana of 1857 was, in all circumstances, which make a country happy, prosperous and peaceful, very different from Rajputana of 1817 ; and the princes and people were not insensible to appreciate the blessing they enjoyed. With full conviction that under no supreme Government would their rights and privileges be so thoroughly secure, the princes, all without exception, proved their staunch fidelity to the paramount power and the loyalty of the nobles, and the people did not fall short of the loyalty of their princes, as they did not show any sympathy with the revolted soldiery.

All was quiet in Rajputana when Colonel Lawrence moved to Abu in April 1857 ; he went with serenity and confidence, and had no reason to feel uneasy until the account of the 10th May at Merath roughly startled him on the 19th. With his naturally keen and penetrat-

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ing judgment, he at once comprehended that the mutinies of Barhampur and Barackpur that had preceded some time ago, were not the isolated acts of some local grievances, but along with the last rising at Merath, formed the continued scenes of one and the same tragedy, and that the whole of the native army of Bengal was contaminated from one end to the other.

His first thought naturally directed itself to the condition of the province under his charge. A country 128,855 square miles in area with a population of 10 millions of men subject to the protected chiefs, guarded by 5,000 troops of the army, ready to take the first opportunity to mutiny, with no European soldiers except 20 sergeants, attached to the native regiments, and other European force being at no station nearer than Disa in the Bombay Presidency, was a position really dangerous, but Lawrence held it with all fortitude and presence of mind.

At Ajmer, situated in an old dilapidated fort close to the city, was for the whole of Rajputana an arsenal capable of furnishing a siege train of great strength, guns, muskets and ammunition, and containing a large quantity of specie and gave to Ajmer in Rajputana no less importance than that unfortunate city in North-Western-Provinces, and that attracted almost all the rebellious soldiery to it. This was a source of deep anxiety to Lawrence as well as to Colvin from the moment they heard of the outbreak of the mutiny and what was worse, the arsenal was guarded by two companies of the 15th Native Infantry, a regiment notoriously disaffected. The original guard was only the light

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company, but the report of mutinies at severel Stations led the Nasirabad authorities to strengthen it by the Grenadier company—as if to set a thief to catch a thief.

It was most important to place the arsenal as soon as possible in secure hands. Lawrence sent a requision to the officer commanding at Disa to despatch a light field force to enable him to secure the safety of the arsenal and to overawe the regular troops of Nasirabad ; the force was sent but it required time to reach its destination. Meanwhile, a better thought struck Colvin's mind, feeling, as Lawrence did, that the caste question was the most important factor in the movements of the native army and the low caste Mairs of the local battalion stationed at Byawar, had no sympathy with the Brahminical prejudices, he at once directed Colonel Dixon, the Commissioner of Ajmer, and commandant of the Mairwara Battalion to relieve the guards of the regular regiment at the arsenal. Dixon peformed this last duty to the State, as he died a few days subsequently, with utmost promptitude. He sent Colonel Carnel, his second in command, with a hundred men of his battalion to Ajmer and that officer, by a forced night march, surprised the regular soldiers before they could concert any plan with their comrades at the head quarters. The new arrivals took charge of the arsenal and the regular troops were sent back to Nasirabad, and this movement saved Rajputana from all troubles. The services of the low caste Mairs, who remained faithful to the end, were so appreciated that another battalion of their tribe was raised and both were allowed to enjoy all the privileges of the native regular regiment.

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Satisfied with the security of the arsenal and the important station of Ajmer, Colonel Lawrence turned his attention to the native princes, and feeling that it was above all necessary to maintain before their eyes a sovereign position and to insist upon their fulfilling the duties which, as protected princes, they owed to the paramount power issued to them on the 23rd May, a circular, in which he called upon them to preserve peace within their borders, to concentrate their troops at suitable places whence they might be available for Government service and to show zeal and activity in dealing with any body of rebels who might attempt to traverse their territories. While thus requiring the co-operation of the native princes, Lawrence warned the commandants at the several stations to act with promptness and vigour, and he made a request to the Government of Bombay that any European troops returning from Persia, who might be required for service in the North-Western Provinces, should be sent to Agra *viâ* Gujrat and Rajputna.

The two military stations garrisoned by the regular army in the province under Colonel Lawrence, were Nasirabad and Nimach, all the troops at which being entirely native, it was not to be expected that they would escape the general infection. There were two more local corps, Kota Contingent and the Jodhpur legion stationed at Deoli and Erinpura and maintained at the expense of those States, but commanded by British Officers, and in all respects managed by the Government. They were also composed of the same material as the regular army, and were therefore equally

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untrustworthy. Hence the precaution to send for troops from Disa was very wise and prudent, but unfortunately the troops could not march so quickly as the rumour which heralded their approach. Before they could arrive, the mischief had been accomplished and they could not prevent it though they repaired it to a great extent. How the mutiny occurred at each of these stations, is described under their separate heads.

Intelligence of the mutiny at Nasirabad reached Colonel Lawrence at Abu on the 1st June, and he started at once to Byawar so as to be close to the scene of action. On his arrival there he found himself nominated Brigadier General in command of all the troops in Rajputana, but he was unable to do anything at the moment as all the native regular troops had mutinied and taken themselves off and had not more than fifty European soldiers at his disposal. But very soon the result of the earlier inspiration of General Lawrence began to manifest themselves, and on the 12th June arrived at Nasirabad, the force for which he had made requisition on Disa. This force consisted of 400 men of Her Majesty's 83rd, the 12th Bombay Native infantry and a troop of E. Horse Artillery. He at once ordered 100 men to reinforce the Mairs at Ajmer where he repaired the dilapidated fort and stored it with provisions. He also made Ajmer his head quarters and made constant visits to Byawar and Nasirabad.

After the revolt of the troops at Nimach on the 3rd June, General Lawrence had caused the station to be occupied by the troops lent by the Mewar, Kota and

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Bundi Darbars. He had no choice, for no other troops were available at the time. But as soon as the Disa troops arrived, he sent a portion of them to garrison that station.

At Ajmere there are Mausoleums, one of Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chisti in the heart of the town and another of Miran Sahib in the fort on the summit of the hill commanding Ajmere, the former being the first Mohammadan saint of India, revered by the Musalmans of the country, and both having a strong party of the Khadims of the two shrines and other Musalman community. They were suspected of doing mischief, and it was desirable that the hill fort should be secured by putting a garrison in it. The chief priest, however, satisfied General Lawrence that it was their interest as guardians of the shrines to be faithful to the Government, the General entrusted the defence of the fort to the Musalmans, and it was to their great credit that they performed garrison duties with zeal and fidelity and acted with perfect loyalty throughout the dangerous period.

The shock of mutiny was broken, the great arsenal was saved, the native chiefs were confirmed in their loyalty by the vigorous and decided action of General Lawrenee. Had Rajputana risen, it is difficult to see how Agra could have held out, how British forces before Delhi could have maintained their position and what disastrous events would have followed that it did not rise, is due to the prompt and far-seeing action of George Lawrence and to the staunch fidelity of its wise and sagacious rulers.

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General Lawrence resided at Doulat Bag in Ajmere with a native officer's party of the Mairwara Battalion as his only guard, visiting Byawar and Nasirabad every now and then as his Civil and Military duty required. While at Ajmere he never once allowed the routine of of the civil business to be interrupted but held open court, daily visiting the city where, although fierce and sullen faces were often seen, he was always respected.

The only event worth notice that took plaee during the period, was the outbreak of the Ajmer Jail on the 9th August and escape of 50 prisoners. Lawrence immediately rode out with a detachment of mounted police to pursue the escaped convicts, caught them and when they turned to resist, attacked and recaptured all who were not slain. It was a sign of the good feeling of the respectable classes that when Lawrence set out on the pursuit, many leading Musalmans of the city volunteered to accompany him.

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SECTION I.

Nasirabad.

The garrison of Nasirabad consisted of the 15th and 30th regiments of native infantry, a battery of native artillery and the 1st Bombay Lancers. The battery of 6 guns was the far-famed artillery of Jalalabad renown known as "Abbott's Battery"; and the 15th N. I. had arrived at the station from Merath only on the 1st May 1857. A party of the 15th N. I. headed by Gambhir Sing Jamadar, had been to the Musketry instruction depot at Ambala and had on their return, spoken to

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their comrades that there was nothing in the enfield rifle or its cartridges from which the loss of their caste or religion might be apprehended. Gambhir Sing, it must be remarked, faithfully served his European Officers till three months after his regiment had mutinied and he died of disgrace when disarmed in obedience to a general order.

Soon after the outbreak at Merath, rumours were afloat that the troops, particularly the 15th, were disaffected and ready to rise; yet the officers did not believe the reports, and every one had the conviction, though his regiment might follow the lead of others, it would not show the way. Still, in consequence of the prevalent rumours, every precaution was taken to secure the safety of the station; the cantonment was patrolled by parties of the 1st Lancers, believed to be faithful, and the guns were kept limbered up and loaded with grapes.

Disaffection continued to increase by every act and occurrence; successive orders about the greased cartridges disclaiming bad intention of the Government and introduction of a new system of platoon exercise, especially adopted for the new cartridge, made the troops suspect that there was really something wrong; the order authorizing officers to promote on the spot, the men who brought a traitor to justice, was misconstrued to be the means of sowing disunion among them to cause each other's destruction; a strange rumour was spread that bonedust was mixed in the flour to destroy their religion; but what exasperated them to

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fury was the distrust shown in relieving them of the charge of the Ajmer treasury and arsenal accompanied with the news that a European force was moving from Disa to coerce them. These considerations drove them to mutiny and they broke out in open revolt at 3 P. M. on the 28th May 1857.

Two companies of the 15th N. I. induced the artillery and rushing with loaded muskets, took possession of the guns and began to fire. The officers galloped to the lines and attempted to bring their men to reason but in vain; the muskets were pointed and in some cases fired at them, and they were warned to be off. The 30th N. I. was inactive in hesitation till 7 P. M. when threatened and urged by the 15th, they gave way and joined the mutiny. The officers of the two infantry regiments and of the artillery joined the Lancers believing that they would remain true and intending with them to charge the rebels. They charged or pretended to charge, but the first discharge from the guns made them falter and break their ranks. Their gallant officers, hoping to incite them by their example, galloped on charging, only, however, in many cases to be wounded or killed. One of them, Newbery, was cut down and hacked to pieces, Captain Spotiswood also was killed and two officers, Captain Hardy and Lieutenant Lock, were badly wounded.

Finding it fruitless to persevere, Colonel Penny ordered the Lancers to desist, and all the surviving officers resolved to retreat and accompany the ladies who had been sent out of the Cantonments on the way to

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Byawar when the first shot was fired. The Lancers proved their loyalty by saving the lives of all the fugitive and did valuable service by covering their retreat. The party travelled the whole night, and till 11 o'clock next morning, when after surmounting very many difficulties and being subjected to great hardships and inconvenience, reached their destination where they were accommodated—the bachelors and cavalry officers by Colonel Dixon, the Commissioner and the family men with ladies and children by Dr. Small and his wife. There they remained under the protection of the Mairwara Battalion until some officers, after the departure of the mutineers to Delhi, returned to their ruined Cantonment, and the rest, mostly ladies and children, went to Jodhpur at the invitation of the Maharaja who had provided conveyance and escort for them. There was only one casualty on the way from Nasirabad to Byawar —Colonel Penny of the Lancers died of heat apoplexy, accompanied with a fall from horse back on the road.

It was a reign of terror in the Cantonment after the Europeans deserted it; the houses were fired, the treasure chests were taken and money was distributed among the mutineers as their pay, and the whole night was spent in amassing plunder, books, cloths, ladies' dress, furniture, ornaments, carriages, buggies, carts, bullocks, horses, harness and every conceivable thing were collected in the lines of the men in heaps.

The peculiar feature of the Nasirabad mutiny was that amid all this riot and disorder, no blood was wantonly shed, and except the four officers, who fell at the guns, there was no massacre and no butchery in cold

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blood as at other places. The 30th offered no violence to their officers; one of them, Captain Fenwick, remained among his men till 8 P. M. when urged by the 15th, they reluctantly told him to retire under the escort of 5 men, and another officer remained in their lines for the whole night and the next day.

A party of 120 men strong, under a native officer of the 30th, continuing faithful, followed the fugitives to Byawar and were ordered to halt out of the station and to give up their arms. On return of the officers to Nasirabad, they were suddenly to follow them, and in this journey nearly half of them deserted.

After ransacking the Cantonment, the mutineers made their way to Delhi, and were vainly pursued for some distance by Lieutenant Walter, a civilian, and Heathcot, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master of the Rajputana field force, at the head of Jodhpur and Jaipur troops which, of course, could not vie with the expert mutineers. They strained into Delhi on the 18th June and proved their titles to be regarded as flower of the rebel army. They took an assault on the besieging army from beyond the Sabzi Mandi on the next day and had a hard fight in which Yule of the Lancers was killed, and Daly of the Guides and Beecher, the Quarter-Master General, were wounded.

On the 12th June 1857, arrived at Nasirabad, the force for which General Lawrence had made a requisition on Disa, and which has been detailed in the preceding Chapter. A detachment of the Jodhpur Legion, withdrawn from Jodhpur, was also sent to the station.

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These continued to do what they could till June 1858 when reinforcements poured from England, and Rajputana Fieid Force was formed under the command of General Roberts of the following troops :—The 83rd foot, a wing of 72nd Highlanders, wings of the 12th and 13th Bombay Native Infantry, two squadrons of 8th Hussars, two of the Bombay Lancers, 300 Biluchi horse, a light field battery and siege train of 6 pieces.

SECTION II.

Nimach.

The Brigade at Nimach, consisted of the 72nd Native Infantry regiment, the 7th Gwalior Contingent Infantry, left wing of the 1st Bengal Light Cavalry, and four troops of the 1st Brigade Horse Artillery, all Natives.

The first treasonable design, represented by Bakhsh Khan, doctor of the 72nd, arose from an assembly of the Musalmans of the troops at the house of Haji Mohammad Khan, Mir Munshi of the Mewar Agency on the Id festival, from which, as the doctor said, he absented himself, because he could not join the sentiments expressed by the host. The Munshi was, however, honourably acquitted of the charge in a trial subsequently held at Ajmer by Captains Hardcastle, Impey and Walter, and continued for a long time as Mir Munshi of the Rajputana Agency.

Colonel Abbott, the Commandant, finding disaffection rife and the Bazar deserted by most of its occupants

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in anticipation of some dreadful event, had, on the morning of the 2nd June, got the Native Officers of the regiment to swear on the Ganges and Kuran to remain faithful in their duty, and he himself took an oath on the Bible for his confidence in their faithful intentions and assurance that rumours about the arrival of European troops and forcible use of cartridges was all false. On the same morning he paraded the troops, informed them of the oaths of their Officers, reminded them of their own taken at the time of enlistment and called on them to stand firm in their allegiance. But a few rash words of a private trooper suddenly proved to what extent had the feelings of the army been embittered and how far could his instructions keep them under control. No sooner did Colonel Abbot finish his speech, than a Sawars named Mohammad Ali Beg, stepped out from the ranks and arrogantly spoke to the Colonel :—"What are our Officer's oaths to us ? ; or even our own ? ; why should we keep our oaths with you who have broken yours ? ; Have you not taken Oudh ?

Precautionary measures in the meantime had been taken by requesting the Political Agents of Mewar and Kota to furnish troops for safety and a fortress or fortified square in charge of the 7th Gwalior Contingent had been prepared as place of refuge in the case of emergency. Major Burton, the Political Agent of Kota, with troops of the Kota and Bundi States, had personally come to Jawad and Captain Showers, the Political Agent of Mewar, promised to come with Udaipur troops to Daru (an Udaipur village) where refugees might come when necessary.

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On the 3rd June, information was received of the Nasirabad mutiny of 28th May at 9 P. M., five troopers galloped to the lines of the 72nd, calling them to get ready; the 72nd took up their arms from the bell of arms but all was quiet yet. The artillery first showed the signs of violence but were restrained by Lieutenant Walker for two hours. At midnight two signal guns were fired, the Cavalry rushed to join the artillery and 72nd broke out from their lines and all the houses of the Europeans were put to flames. The frightened inmates of these houses fled to save their lives and with exception of the wife and children of Sergeant Supple of the artillery, who fell victims to the barbarities of the rebels, all escaped the bloodshed.

The Gwalior Contingent, a wing of which occupied the walled enclosure, was not fortunately ripe for mutiny, and its gallant Commander, Captain Mac Donald, took measures to secure the treasury and the post for the safety of the Europeans who all repaired to it. On rushing into the square they found that its walls were lined by the right wing and the left wing as then brought by Lieutenant Rose, were making their entrance. After all had got in, the gate was shut and the drawbridge was thrown. The officers spoke cheerfully and encouragingly to the men, and they promised fidelity, many declaring that they would die rather than surrender, and Captain Lloyd offered them liberal reward for protecting the treasury. The Officers were, however, soon undeceived, as the men guarding the fort, mutinied at 4 A. M. despite protestations and declared they would obey the command of Pirthi Sing and not of

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Captain MacDonald. Hira Singh, Subedar, then opened the gate and told the Europeans to go out with saftey before the regulars came in, and some men escorted their office: s to a place of comparative saftey at some distance. All the regiments now joined the work of destruction, plundered the treasury, containing 1,76,000 rupees, ravaged the cantonments, blew up Pestonji, a Parsi merchant, from gun and let loose the prisoners of the jail. It is not less creditable to the fidelity of Rajputana that even some of the prisoners who were released by the rebels, presented themselves voluntarily before Captain Lloyd after th e mutineers had left the station.

Of the European fugitives, the officers of the 72nd, prevented by the cavalry and artillery lines from joining others, first collected at their quarter-guards, and then made their way to Jawad where they reached at 7 A. M. and were hospitably received by Mr. Charles Burton, the Assistant Superintendent of Nimach, his mother, Mrs. Burton and her daughter afforded every comfort to the ladies. Major Burton joined them at 11 A. M., but hearing the appr oach of the rebels the whole party had to move to Deenkeen where the Kota nnd Bundi troops were encamped, thence they had to go on to Murwan and again to Jaw ad. The others, numbering about fifty, after wander ing about Baru, Chota and Bara Sadri, reached D ungla, an Udaipur village. With what care and attention they were taken from that village by Rao Bakht Sing of Bedla and how comfortably accommodated by the Maharana of Udaipur, shall be related under the head Udaipur. The conduct of the headmen of Kasunda alone where Doctors Murray and Gane

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separated from others, had taken refuge, is worthy of high praise.

On the morning of the 4th June, after plundering and burning the Cantonments, the mutineers of all arms assembled on the parade ground of the 72nd, where, in a large tent, the Native Officers raised themselves to High Commands :—Shekh Iradat Ali, Risaldar and Badri Sing, Subedar, were made Brigadiers, Jamadar Dost Mohammad became Brigade Major, and Subedar Ganesh Ram and Shekh Kasim assumed the commands of the 72nd and the Gwalior Contingent Infantry Regiments respectively. They advanced two months' pay from the plundered treasury and issued orders in the name of the King of Delhi. At 1 P.M. of the same day they left the station, band playing and marched to Delhi *via* Agra. Their movement on the march was irregular and uncertain, though for a long time they were strict in discipline and kept themselves well informed.

The unsuccessful pursuit, which Captain Showers, the Political Agent of Meywar and other Officers from Nimach, made at the head of the Udaipur troops, will be described in connection with that State. The Nimach Brigade, as the rebels were now called, burnt the Deoli Station, captured two guns and whole of the magazine there, and were augmented thereabout by the Mehidpur Contingent Cavalry which had mutinieed on the 9th June, and after murdering their Officers, Lieutenants Bardie and Hunt, had taken their way to Delhi. They continued to roll on their journey with accession to their number at every stage. At Tonk, Nawab Wiziruddoula made an attempt to oppose them, but the

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tremendous army skilfully trained, was not to be arrested by an unorganized force of a Native State. On their approach to Agra the Kota Contingent, which had been calmly doing its duty for two months, broke up and swelled their number. On the 5th July they were attacked by a force from the Agra garrison under Brigadier Polwhell and in the battle of Sasia which ensued, they repulsed and drove back the force into the Agra fort. After plundering the city and bursting open the Central Jail, they proceeded to Delhi by the Mathra road. At Achnera they routed the Alwar troops sent by Maharao Raja Beni Sing in answer to Mr. Colvin's appeal. A portion of the troops composed of the Lawa Thakurs, who showed their firmness in duty, were brutally massacred, another mostly, the Musalmans, rebelled out of their own accord, and the rest, including Chimaji, the General, were taken as prisoners of war. The whole body at last reached Delhi, and as it was the rule with every new arrival of the mutineers, made three successive attacks on the 14th, 18th and 20th July upon the British position. One Subedar, Bhagirath Misr, of this force, gained such a renown among the rebels that he was raised to the rank of Brigadier General with a command over five Regiments. In the battle of Najafgarh, on the 30th August, General Nicholson gave them a signal defeat and destroyed so many of them that the Nimach Brigade, as a separate force, was never afterwards heard. On the capture of Delhi, the remnant fled with the rest of the rebels to Lakhnow and after that place too had fallen, they went into Ruhelkhand and joined Khan Bahadur Khan, since which all trace of them was entirely lost.

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Nimach, soon after its being deserted by the rebels, was occupied by the Mewar troops left by Captain Showers and Kota and Bundi troops brought by Major Burton; but General Lawrence placing little trust on the troops of the Native States sent from Nasirabad, a force composed of one squadron of the Bombay Light Cavaly, 100 men of the 83rd, and 200 of the 12th Bombay Native Infantry to relieve them. Some of the relievers, however, proved more untrustworthy than the relieved were supposed to be. About the 12th August, some disaffected men of the Bombay Native troops endeavoured to promote a disturbance, but Colonel Jackson, the Commanding Officer, acted with great promptitude. Before the mutiny had actually declared itself, he brought the 83rd and seized the ringleaders. Some of them were arrested, 8 escaped, one man of the 83rd was killed, an officer and two men were wounded but the mutiny was nipped in the bud.

The Officers of the mutinied Regiment after their return from the pursuit with Captain Showers and from Jawad with the object of remaining under the protection of the British troops, were sent under the escort of an Udaipur force to Nasirabad where they reached on the 17th July, and whence after long delay and along with such Officers of Nasirabad, were conveyed to Agra escorted by Jaipur and Bharatpur troops in their respective jurisdictions.

About the middle of August, Firoz Shah, a fanatic priest, pretending to be a prince of the Delhi royalty, preached a crusade against the British at Khachrod, and in a short time gathered such a large number of

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devotees from Makranas, Walaitis and numerous other sects of Musalmans, that he was enabled to make an attack on Mandisor, a district town of Gwalior, where two of the District Officers were wounded, a third was killed, and the Kotwal, a Brahman, was forcibly made a Musalman not only by making him swallow unclean things but also subjecting him to the operation of Sunnat, the baptizm of Islam, generally performed an unconscious children. A general assault was then made on the Bara (the Government house), the treasury was plundered, the records were burnt and the Shahzada was proclaimed king under a royal salute. A proclamation was issued to neighbouring Chiefs, the Rajas of Partabgarh, Ratlam and Sitamau, and Nawab of Jaora claiming their allegiance, the Salumar Chief was threatened for not attacking Khairwara Station, and Dungarpur Raja and Bbomia Chiefs were chastised for assisting the English. It was certain from numerous sources that a general insurrection was planned to take place in Malwa, and that the first declared object of the Mandisore Shahzada was to drive out the European troops at Nimach. The loyal Nawab of Jaora sent a timely information of these events to Captain Showers and requested him to be on his guard. A body of 400 rebels at last marched out from Mandisore and seized Jiran on the 23rd October. At the information given by Thakur of Kangeti to Captain Lloyd, a force of 400 men, of whom 50 were Europeans of the 83, and 3 guns under the command of Captain Tucker, moved to attack them. The attack was made, but the rebels sallied out in overwhelming num-

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ber, drove back the infantry and captured one of the guns, a mortar; the cavalry then charged recovered the gun and compelled the enemy to re-enter the town; but the place was too strong for such a small force as this, and retreat became inevitable. Out of 11 officers present on the occasion, two—Captains Tucker and Reade were killed, their heads being cut off by the enemy, that of Tucker was placed on the gate of Mandisor, and five officers were wounded. The effect of this retrograde movement was very depressing, but, strange to say, the enemy also evacuated Jiran on the same night. On the 8th November the enemy returned reinforced by 4,000 men, occupied Nimach unopposed, and unobstructed and with ringing yells of triumph, burnt every house in the station. The British officers with their troops were forced to take refuge in the fortress which was invested and unsuccessfully excaladed, and several of the chief towns, such as Jawad, Ratangarh and Singoli, threw off the yoke and rose in open rebellion. At the end of a fortnight the Mewar troops under Captain Showers and a party of the Rifles under Lieutenant Farquharson, made a sudden charge on the besiegers, while Colonel Durand with troops from Mau first defeated the mutineers at Dhar and then attacked Mandisor to defend which the rebels were obliged to retire from Nimach. Nothing of importance subsequently occurred at the station.

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SECTION III.

The Kota Contingent.

Under articles 5, 6, and 7 of the treaty of 1838, Maharo Ram Sing of Kota agreed to keep an auxiliary force commanded by European Officers, at an expense not exceeding three lakhs per annum, and at the request of the Maharao the expense was reduced in 1844 to two lakhs. At this expense was maintained a force consisting of infantry, cavalry and artillery, named the Kota Contingent and stationed at Deoli on the triple boundary of Udaipur, Jaipur and Bundi.

This force is often confounded by historians with Kota estate troops who murdered Major Burton, the Political Agent and other Europeans at Kota, but it had no hand in the tragedy. Deoli, where the Contingent was stationed, is far beyond the Kota border and the force, as a body, did not enter the estate though its guards may have been at the Agency Office.

The Kota Contingent took the field immediately as the disturbances commenced and after marching and countermarching a good deal in the vicinity of Nasirabad one day being ordered up to Agra and another being called for at Ajmer, it eventually reached the former place.

Being employed in the beginning in the district duties, the Contingent acted admirably in collecting revenues, bringing mutineers and burning refractory villages. Being once sent to the Mathra district under its Commander, Captain Dennys, went on an expedition with Mr. Thornhill, the Collector and Magistrate

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against Debi Sing, a rebel, who had proclaimed himself a Raja in the villages on the other side of the Jamna, and succeeded in punishing the villagers and bringing many persons, including the pseudo Raja as prisoners.

On its return to Agra, it was so much trusted that its guards were allowed to relieve the European guards at the Central Jail, containing 4,000 prisoners, the Government House was in its charge, and on the arrival of the Nimach mutineers at Fattehpur Sikri, it was ordered on the 2nd July to occupy the Cantonments.

Unfortunately, on the 3rd July, Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor, fell sick and a council, consisting of Mr. Reade, Brigadier Polwhell, and Major Macleod, assumed the administration of affairs. This worthy tribunal took strange measures of breaking the pontoon bridge on the Jamna that rebels (coming from opposite direction) might not enter the fort, releasing a large number of prisoners that the rebels might not release them afterwards, removing the Bharatpur and Karoli troops from the position they held, and requiring them to give up their guns which made them retire from the scene with anger and disgust. Among these measures was the order to the Kota Contingent to march out and attack the advancing rebels, accompanied with instruction from Brigadier Polwhell, that only the horse and foot of Contingent should go with the British troops, and the artillery must be left behind.

The idea that their separation from the guns was required for the purpose of destroying them, exasperated the Contingent and they mutinied to a man

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no sooner the order was announced to them on the 4th July. The European Sergeant in charge of the stores was shot down, and at this signal the men firing at their European officers happily without effect, rushed off to join the rebels. They were in such a hurry that a loyal gunner, named Mathura, had time to spike the guns, whilst their European Medical officer, Dr. Mathias aided by his servants and others, strewed in the sand their powder ammunition and case-shot. The most serviceable portion of their armament was thus rendered useless and the guns were brought to the fort by a party sent from Agra.

Along with the Nimach mutineers, the Kota Contingent went to Delhi, most of its men were destroyed by General Nicholson in the battle of Najafgarh and others mixed with the mass of the defeated rebels and disappeared with them.

The Deoli Irregular Force composed principally of the Kherar Minas, is now the substitute for the late Kota Contingent.

SECTION IV.

The Jodhpur Legion.

The Jodhpur Legion, like other Contingent forces, was maintained at the expense of the Marwar or Jodhpur State, but equipped, disciplined and officered on the English system. Under article 8th of the Treaty, dated 6th January 1818, concluded by Maharaja Man Singh, the Jodhpur State was bound to furnish a contingent of 1,500 horse for service of the British Govern-

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ment whenever required. A demand was made in 1832 for a force to co-operate against free-booters who occupied Nagar Parkar, and the troops furnished failed in their duty and proved perfectly useless. By agreement, dated 7th December 1835, therefore, the obligation to furnish the contingent was commuted to an annual payment of Rs. 1,15,000 towards the Jodhpur Legion, which was then raised and maintained at the expense.

The Legion consisted of an infantry regiment of 11 companies, a cavalry of 3 well-mounted troops and an artillery of two guns drawn by camels and manned by soldiers of the infantry regiment. Of the eleven companies, eight were of Purabias, men of the same race as those of the Bengal Army and three were of Bhils, the aboriginal race of the country, between whom there was no sympathy. The cavalry was mostly composed of the Ranghars of Hariana and Shekhawati. The head quarters of the Legion were at Erinpura and the officers at the time were Captain Hall, the Commander, Captain Block, the second in Command and Lieutenant Conoly, the Adjutant. Two parties of the infantry, altogether about 60 men, guarded the summer station of Abu where there were also 35 invalid soldiers of Her Majesty's 83rd, and some European officers and families of officers whose duty required their presence on the plains. A company of the infantry that formed part of the detachment under Captain Block at Nasirabad, reached Anadra at the foot of the Abu Mount on 19th August for the purpose of coercing the refractory Thakur of Row and a troop of cavalry had been there previously to protect the Disa road. After giving instruc-

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tions for distributing troops, Captain Hall went up to Abu from Anadra.

The 21st August 1857 was a foggy day, the company at Anadra crept up the hill under the cover of dense mist, and joining their comrades already in the station, made a sudden attack upon the European invalids in their barrack at 5½ A.M. Two or three volleys were successively poured without causing any substantial loss, when the European soldiers awaking from their sound sleep and finding themselves in danger, at once took up their arms and gave a reply. One of the mutineers was killed and the rest fled away, taking with them some of their number supposed to be wounded. Mehrban Singh, Subedar, and Ajudhia, Jamadar, with a few soldiers, went to Captain Hall's bungalow and fired through the windows while he and his family were asleep, but they escaped by a back-door and joined other Europeans in the school which they fortified and made their residence in, till the disturbance was over. Only Mr. A Lawrence, the son of General George Lawrence, who lived with his mother and sisters, was severely wounded in the thigh while going out to ascertain the cause of alarm from the Captain. The mutineers then plundered the Bazar, let loose the five prisoners in Jail, and dismantled the Post Office. Captain Hall and Dr. Young brought European soldiers upon the mutineers, drove them down the hill with a sharp firing and Abu was safe from all dangers. At Anadra, the mutineers pillaged the Bazar, took away the conveyances of the Officers and Vakils and made their way to Eranpura.

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The news of these events reached Eranpura on the second day long before the arrival of the mutineers, and the whole Legion at once rose in revolt; Lieutenant, Conoly visited the different lines of each arm, but everywhere met the same opposition and disobedience. The artillery went so far as to direct the muzzles of the guns towards him with lighted portfires which he avoided by changing the course of his horse, but when some men of the infantry and cavalry levelled their muskets and carabines at him, he could not but call, in an appealing tone, what were they doing and was there no one to side with him. The call was responded by a few Sawars, and with their help Conoly went to the cavalry lines and summoned the two European Sergeants and their families who had already attempted an escape which would have proved destructive to them. A great discussion then ensued between the troopers, for, with exception of a few that befriended Conoly, all were bent upon destroying Europeans. Abbas Ali, Risaldar, and the other faithful men then interposed and putting their turbans at the feet of the stubborn mutineers, prevented them from committing misdeeds. By the influence of Abbas Ali, the number of the loyal defenders amounted to 45, who swore to protect the Europeans at the risk of their own lives. The difficulty, however, was that they were not willing to accompany him on leaving the mutinous Legion, nor could Conoly desert the poor Sergeants and their families and go alone as advised by the the faithful Sawars. In the meantime the infantry and artillery plundered the Cantonment, came upon the parade, preparing for

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march and compelled the cavalry to join them. A small tent was pitched in the centre and the Europeans, three men, two women and five children, were lodged in it, but they remained a bone of contention between the mutineers for two following nights and the intervening day. The mutineers attempted to torture and even slaughter them, but Abbas Ali's party closely surrounded their proteges and were determined not to let them be injured. Setting fire to the Cantonment and destroying everything, the mutineers marched to Delhi with Mehrban Sing as their General and Conoly as Captain. The Sergeants and their families were allowed to go away at the time of their leaving Erinpura. Steps were successively taken on the way to deprive Conoly of his life, but on each occasion Abbas Ali stretched his protecting hands and did not allow the murderers to approach his person. Finding all their schemes frustrated, the mutineers agreed on the 27th August to let Conoly go away; Abbas Ali requsted him to take his two months' pay and the troopers declared on their part that if he were to turn a Musalman, the whole Cavalry would leave the mutineers and follow him wherever he might go. Conoly, however, took only Rs. 20, and thanking the troopers for their offer and bidding adieu to the Legion, returned to Eranpura in company of his three faithful Sawars—Nasir-ud-din, Ilahi Bakhsh and Momin Ali. In their journey onward, Abbas Ali and his men, particularly Makhdum Bakhsh, who had stood first in his fidelity to Conoly, were treated by the mutineers in a very disgraceful, manmer and some of them were constantly kept under guns. Conoly coming to

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know of this, sent a message advising them to go to Captain Mason, the Political Agent of Jodhpur, and also wrote to that Officer to support Abbas Ali. In pursuance of this advice, Abbas Ali addressed Captain Mason, offering to desert the mutineers and come to Jodhpur with the cavalry and guns on the condition of their being pardoned and reinstated in the service; but fettered by a general order from the Government not to make terms with armed mutineers, Captain Mason was unable to accede to Abbas Ali's offer. Besides, it was a dangerous experiment to invite a strong body of mutineers to the capital where the Maharaja and the English Officers had been thankful for the removal of a detachment of the Legion sometime ago, and whence even 15 Sawars left from the detachment for orderly duties, had been expelled with great difficulty.

How the mutineers made a common cause with the Thakur of Ahwa, defeated the Jodhpur forces and even a detachment of British troops brought by General Lawrence and left Ahwa quarrelling with the Thakur, will be narrated under the head of Jodhpur; it is enough to say here that they marched along their way onward to Delhi and passed through Marwar and Shekhawati. While in the latter country they were pursued by the Jaipur and Sikar troops, but as the repeated successes at Ahwa had made them famous for their warlike propensities, none of the pursuers ventured to come across with them and they went on committing mischiefs upon the people of the country through which they passed.

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At some place in Shekhawati they heard the news, direful to them of the capture of Delhi by the English, and though disheartened in the extreme, they gained courage by addition to their number of the fugitives from Delhi, of Samand Khan, the father-in-law to and commander of the forces of the rebel Nawab of Jhajar, and of another rebel, Rao Tula Ram of Rewari; and vigorously advanced upon Narnoul, a district town of the said Nawab where they were opposed by a column from Delhi under General Gerrard.

The column consisted of—the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, the 7th Panjab Infantry, Cockworthy's troops of Horse Artillery, Gillespie's Heavy Battery, the Carabineers under Wardlow, the cavalry of the Guides under Kennedy, and the Multani Horse, a new levy. General Gerrard left Delhi on the 10th November and reached Kanound on the 15th. There he heard that the rebels were at Narnoul and expected to meet them next morning. The sandy nature of the ground made the march so difficult that they could not reach their destination before 11 A.M. that morning, though it was only 12 miles distant; but the delay, which was borne with impatience and dislike, ultimately proved of very great advantage. The enemy had occupied at Narnoul such a strong and prominent post that had they continued to hold it, the task of dislodging them would have cost a great deal of time and trouble. But either failing to appreciate the importance of their position or believing that the English were not to attack them at all, they abandoned the place and marched a few miles in advance, where the British troops were halted for the purpose of refreshing

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themselves. Their challenge of a shot was instantly replied with a shower of grapes and round shots, the infantry and artillery, however, advanced steadily, but a loud "Shabash" of the Guides and a flash of the sabres and talwars amid a cloud of dust on the right, showed that a fierce cavalry combat had already ensued. The mutineers in this battle displayed a great gallantry but were soon overpowered by the Guides and the Carabineers who pushed them back to Narnoul whence they had started. The Fusiliers and the artillery in the meantime fell upon the infantry, caused a dreadful havoc and captured their guns. At a moment when the battle was nearly won, General Gerrard was mortally shot on his horse and the rebels, encouraged by his death, made a fresh and desperate charge. The Multanies gave way but Fusiliers readily coming to their help, drove the eremy from the field and hunted them down in every building of the town. Caulfield assumed the command and completed the victory by dispersing the rebels to different quarters and terminating the existence of the Jodhpur Legion.

Abbas Ali left the mutineers at the time of their quitting Ahwa and hid himself in the Bikaner territory, keeping correspondence with Lieutenant Conoly who procured his pardon from Lord Canning as a special case and called him to be readmitted in the service. The three Sawars, who proved their fidelity by leaving not Lieutenant Conoly alone, were rewarded by promotions and ever afterwards respected as loyal and trustworthy.

The Erinpura Irregular Force now fills the place of the late Jodhpur Legion.

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CHAPTER II.

Mewar Agency.

SECTION I.

Udaipur.

(Udaipur is the highest in rank and dignity among the Rajputana States, and its ruling prince, entitled Maharana, as representative of the solar race and descendant of the senior branch from Rama, the King of Ajodhia, is styled, according to Colonel Tod, Hindua Surj or the Sun of India.)

No State in India made a more noble and more desperate resistance to the Muhammadan emperors. (It is the boast of the family that they never gave a daughter in marriage to any of them,) and for many years they ceased to intermarry with the other Rajput families who made such alliance.

In the alliance which Rana Amar Sing II, who ruled from 1700, made with the Maharajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur for mutual protection against the Musalmans, it was one of the conditions that these princes should regain the privilege of marriage with the Udaipur family, with the proviso that the sons of the Udaipur princesses should succeed in preference to children by other wives. The quarrels to which this stipulation gave rise, led to the conquest of the country by the

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Marahtas, at whose hands Udaipur suffered more cruel devastations than it had ever been subjected to by the Muhammadans.

Sawai Jai Singh, the prince of Jaipur, married a daughter of Sangram Sing of Udaipur, having at the time a son, Ishri Sing, who, on the death of Jai Sing, assumed the power in Jaipur, while the claims of Madho Sing, the son of the Udaipur princess, were supported by the Maharana who called in the aid of Malhar Rao Hulkar and agreed to pay him 80 lakhs of Rupees on the condition of his deposing Ishri Sing. In part payment of this sum, the Maharana made over to Hulkar the district of Rampura. The loss of Rampura was, however, the least of the evils which followed. It became thereafter the custom, for the redress of any real or supposed wrong, to call in the aid of the Marahtas who thus obtained a firm footing in Mewar and became the referees in all disputes and virtual rulers of the country.

During the reigns of Partab Sing, Raj Sing, Arsi, Hamir and Bhim Sing, Sendhia seized the districts of Jawad, Jiran, Nimach, Morwan, Ratangarh, Kheri and Singoli, Hulkar appropriated to himself Nimahera, Joth Bichar, and Nadomai, and Jodhpur wrested Godwar.

In the ten years preceding 1817 when Maharana Bhim Sing was taken under British protection, Udaipur was laid waste by the armies of Sendhia, Hulkar, and Amir Khan, and by many hordes of Pindari plunders; the Maharana was reduced to extreme distress and deserted by his feudatories, the more powerful of whom

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were bent only on their own preservation. But the peace and tranquility enjoyed under the protection soon made the state prosperous and happy for which the Maharana and his successors were under great obligation to the British Government.

Simultaneously, with Maharana Bhim Sing, the British Government made an alliance with Nawab Amir Khan of Tonk, and among other districts which he held under grant from Hulkar, Nimahera was confirmed to him in perpetuity by the Government.

In spite of the above encroachments upon it from every side, the Udaipur State comprises an area of 12,670 square miles, and its population, which, of course has increased much in recent years, is above 1,700,000 souls.

Maharana Sarup Sing, who succeeded to the State in 1842, was reigning at Udaipur during the troubles of 1857. Complications between him and his refractory nobles even at this time were so very serious that Sir Henry Lawrence, just before his transfer to Oudh, was obliged to propose, on the 5th February 1857, the employment of two strong columns of British troops, to reduce and expel from their estates the chiefs of Salumar and Bhindar the foremost among the recusants and to banish them from Rajputana; yet with a deep sense of gratitude to the British Gavernment and enabled by the development of the resources of his State with forty years' good administration, the Maharana proved his staunch fidelity to the paramount power in proportion to the high position he held among the princes of the province.

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The news of the disasters at Merath and Delhi had spread in the country before Captain C. L. Showers, the Political Agent, returned to Udaipur from Abu where he had been for an official conference with the Agent Governor-General. Captain Showers in hot haste to be on his post, was to reach the capital late at night on the 28th May, and with this view he waived the usual Peshwai, or the State reception by the prince as causing delay and inconvenience. But the first delicate and respectful feeling of the Maharana for the prestige of the Government was that the omission of the usual ceremony at so critical juncture might be construed by the ill-disposed people into an intentional slight, and therefore he sent out a confidential officer and made the Political Agent stop for the night in the castle of Bedla, a few miles distant to make his public entry on the following morning when the Maharana received him in a more than usual stately manner.

The Residency escort was at Nimach, its permanent head quarters, and Captain Showers, had not even his own establishment; the city was filled with fanatic mercenary troops and other disaffected poople; therefore, to secure the safety of the Agent's life, the Maharana proposed that he should take up his residence in the water palace of one of the islands in the lake. Captain Showers declined the offer with the reason that any step on the part of the British representative indicative of a want of confidence in his position was specially to be avoided at such a time. The Maharana thereupon sent four chiefs from amongst his trustworthy personal attendants who, with their respective

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retainers kept watch and ward day and night for the protection of the Residency and the Political Agent.

The public excitement was great and it increased with the news, which reached the capital a day or two after the Agent's arrival, of the rising of the troops at Nasirabad, which showed the spread of the mutiny in the heart of Raiputana. Then arose the rumour of an approaching outbreak at Nimach, the nearest Military station and seat of the Agency Office. Letters from Colonel Abbot, Commanding at Nimach and Captain Lloyd, Superintendent of the Jawad and Nimach district, brought to Captain Showers varying accounts of the troops, now that they were at the brink of revolt, again that the crisis had passed over and confidence was reviving, at one moment urging him to march on Nimach with Raj troops, and at the next begging him on no account to bring a Raj soldier within the sight of the Cantonment as likely to exasperate the native regiments.

In view of so conflicting a state of matter, the Political Agent thought the best thing he could do, was to move the Maharana's troops to the contiguous frontier post of Chota Sadri, so as to be within call and ride himself alone to Nimach. But the ministers of the State with various considerations were bent upon concentrating all the troops in the capital which would have been fatal to the British interests in Mewar and to the fugitives who fled westward on the revolt of the Nimach brigade.

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Impressed with the vital importance of open and active co-operation on the part of the State, Captain Showers sought an interview with the Maharana. Secrecy was necessary in an excited state of the feelings of the people; it was proposed that they should meet on the margin of the lake indicating a post as the rendezvous to which the Maharana would cross in boat. At the advice of the Political Agent given in this considerately arranged interview and in response to the dying appeal of Sir Henry Lawrence from Lakhnow, communicated through Dr. Ebden's letter, to Captain Showers that—"Tell the Rana of Mewar that now is the time and hour for him to earn favour and good name with our Government, even if it cost him lakhs of rupees, for money spent now will fructify well"—the Maharana openly declared the espousal of the British cause, agreed to send his troops to the open country and promised an immediate aid of the whole of his army. Practical effect was given to the momentous decision by placing the select and most reliable troops at the disposal of Captain Showers to take the field accompanied by one of the highest and most trusted Chiefs, Bakat Singh, the Rao of Bedla. Orders under *Khas Ruqua* (royal sign manual) were at the same time issued, calling upon all the loyal chiefs and district officers to afford every aid in the operations and to obey the orders of the Political Agent as the Maharana's own.

Before his march on Nimach, Captain Showers took measures for the general tranquility of Mewar. The recusant chiefs were assured by a proclamation that

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their grievances would be inquired into and adjusted by the Maharana and the Political Agent for which they must wait patiently and loyally till the return of the latter, warning at the same time that any one venturing to disturb the public peace, would be denounced as a rebel equally against the British Government and his own sovereign. The important questions of succession to the estates of Amait and Bijoli pending at the time, were subjects of disputes and discussion. But fortunately for the peace of the country, the relations of the parties in the two cases with the other chiefs, particularly the most powerful, of Salumar, Deogarh, Bhindar, Begu and Gugonda were so complicated that those, who supported the cause of the same claimant in one case, found themselves ranged on opposite sides in the other. The final settlement of the cases was postponed, and parties in the State were held evenly balanced as expectants under restraining order.

Khairwara was another cause of anxiety, as a wing of the 1st Bengal Cavalry was stationed there along with the Mewar Bhil corps. The other wing of the regiment having revolted at Nimach, the troop at Khairwara could hardly be expected to resist the temptation to join their comrades in the mutiny. Captains J. C. Brooke and R. M. Annesley were 1st and 2nd in command of the local corps as well as 1st and 2nd Assistants to the Resident respectively, and the former was, moreover, Superintendent of the Hilly Tract. By Captain Brooke's admirable arrangements, the passes leading out of the Hilly Tract were closed, and the strong Corps of the little black aboriginal Bhils, who

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having no sympathy with Hindus or Musalmans, were staunch in duty, the cavalry, as a body, could not venture to rise. There were cases of individual desertion from time to time, but as often as an attempt was made, the gallant Bhils brought the fugitives back as prisoners.

Whilst preparations for march were in progress, intelligence came on the 6th June that the Nimach Brigde had risen on the 3rd, that it came through native channel, unannounced to Captain Showers by an official communication warranted the worst conclusions. The column was ready to march with all possible haste, when two officers of the Nimach force, Barness of Artillery and Rose of Infantry, rode into the Residency and reported that a party of over forty European refugees, women and children, included, were gathered together at Dungla, an Udaipur village about 50 miles distant, and bringing an express from Captain Macdonald, the senior officer of the party, describing their position as most critical and urgently calling for aid. The Political Agent marched the same night to the relief of the party, Barness returning, but Rose being too exhausted to take the field again at the moment.

The march commenced late in night of the 7th June, and by necessary arrangements for the ambulance for women, childern and the sick of the refugees so urgently needed, it was not till long after night fall of the following day that the party approached Dungla. Their arrival being known to the refugees, outcame Macdonald,

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Walter, Murray, and others exclaiming, thank God !, thank God! which was responded by the zealous relievers.

The report of the Maharana's troops taking the field, had preceded the troops and warned the mutineers to beat a retreat before the country was roused around them.

The refugees were found in the last stage of destitution, having escaped from the burning station with but their lives. Fatigue, anxiety, exposure, and absolute want had done their work. Many were laid prostrate, the closeness and dirt of their confined retreat in which cattle obtruded on the place allotted for the party was sickening. Cholera had broken out and Davenport was lying dying. They could give no tidings of the rest of the fugitives.

While the officers were talking about their sufferings at Nimach and after flight, the Bedla Rao came to say that the transport for the conveyance of his charge was ready. Advancing to meet him, the officers walked out together to inspect the varied train ranged outside the walls to obviate confusion in setting off. (These were—palanquins for the women, childern, and the sick; pad elephants and horses for the officers and their servants; carts and camels for the luggage, and nothing had been forgotten.) How well the chivalrous chief justified the confidence in fulfilling the charge that had been confided to him to escort the party to Udaipur, their safe arrival and convalescence of the sick, benefitting by the thoughtful arrangements made for their comfort, amply testified.

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The protection generously extended to them by the Maharana, was gratefully acknowledged at the time by His Excellency the Governor-General in a *Khurita* to His Highnes's address and afterwards drew from Her Majesty the Queen ; speaking throuh Her Secretary of the State, the expressions of her " highest gratification in observing the support which he gave to her armies, the assistance which he rendered to her subjects, and the tranquility he maintained throughout his extensive dominions ; and assuring His Highness that these proofs of his loyalty and devotion to the British Crown would ever be held by Her Majesty in gratefnl remembrance."

Jagmandir, a water palace on one of the beautiful islands in the Pichola lake, was appointed for the residence of the refugees, not less desirable as a secure retreat during the state of excitement at the capital than as a pleasant and healthy abode. The grateful sense of safety and repose after all the dangers and trials they had gone through, was acknowledged by the refugees to have been enhanced by the cordial hospitality and personal visits of the Maharana.

Captain Annesley, the Assistant Political Agent, who had the charge of the refugees, wrote in his report :— " His Highness the Maharana paid us a very handsome compliment by coming here in person yesterday in his State barge to ascertain that we were provided with every comfort. He asked to see the chlidren and to each he gave with his own hand two gold mohars. In the evening they were taken over to the Queen's, when the

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Rana again sent for each two gold mohars in his own name and two in that of the Rani. In fact nothing could excel his civility and kindness."

Dr Murray, the Surgeon of the party, acknowledged his gratitude in the following terms in a letter to Captain Showers :—

" In truth, our party owe much to you and to the Rana. I, for one, shall not soon forget the joy that was infused into our people when you made your appearance in Dungla at the head of our faithful allies. It was a period of very great anxiety and suspense. Had the Rana gone against us, no power on the earth could have saved us ; and although there were brave hearts amongst us, determined to uphold the honour of England to the last and to sell our lives dearly, yet the bravest among us shuddered at the awful fate that under adverse circumstances would have awaited our country-women and their little ones."

The lives of two of the party that fled from Nimach, Doctors Murray and Gane, were saved by the people of a neighbouring Udaipur village under circumstances which recall the traditions of rude days of the ancient chivalry, when the point of honour stood barbaric races instead of the vaunted higher motive of our later venerated civilization, and more than half redeemed their Savagery. (The first village these officers arrived at in their flight, was Kasonda of Udaipur.) Weary with their wanderings on foot and exhausted by anxiety they sought shelter and protection. They asked the head, man if they could rest there for an hour or so ; he said,

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most certainly, and received them with great civility, had a place cleared for them immediately in his house and begged they would make themselves comfortable. He sent for milk, chapatis, dall, rice, and mangos and entreated them to eat. Their repose, however, was of a short duration. Within an hour or two of their arrival at Kasonda, a party of the revolted cavalry galloped into the village and demanded the refugees. They had been sheltered in a small walled enclosure, where the head of the village resided. He, re-assuring his guests in the words of Dr. Murrry's interesting narrative, "you have eaten with us and are our guests, and now if you were our greatest enemy we would defend you," manned the walls, and refused to give up the officers. The soldiers threatened to bring guns, but nothing daunted, the villagers invoked the vengeance of their suzerain, the Maharana, and maintained so bold an attitude that the mutineers were fain to retreat without effecting their vengeful object. At nightfall the headman escorted the officers whom he had so nobly protected to the nearest military station of the Rana, Chota Sadri, whence they proceeded and effected a junction with the other refugees. Dr. Murray has mentioned the names of these brave Rajputs to be Jadon Ram, Onkar Sing, Kesri Sing, and Moti Sing; and their noble conduct was recognized by the Political Agent by investing them with robes of honour in a public Darbar, the Maharana rewarded their good services with the substantial grant of land and the British Government on its own part in pursuance of its expressed intention to reward the faithful, bestowed a

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money reward on these meritorious men and placed in the construction of a well at its own expense a lasting and useful monument at once of the noble conduct of the headman and the gratitude of the British Government.

(The treatment, these officers received at another village of Udaipur, named Bhilkagaon, is given by Dr. Murray in the following words:—"Here we received very great kindness; the Bhils seemed to vie with each other in their hospitality. They spoke to us of the benefits they received under the British rule, and abused the mutineers in no measured terms. The women appeared to be very indignant at the treatment they heard we had received, and expressed a hope that vengeance would speedily overtake the traitors.)

"The conduct of the Udaipur Darbar," says Dr. Murray in conclusion, "at this crisis was beyond all praise. The Rana appeared to have entered heart and soul into our cause; and, indeed, had it not been for his loyalty to the British Government and co-operation with the authorities, there is no saying what might have been the aspect of affairs in Rajputana at the present moment."

After the despatch of the refugees, among whom, besides women and children, were Lieutenants Walker, Gordon, Rose, Davenpert, and Richie, and Doctors Cotes and Gane, from Dungla to Udaipur, under a strong escort, headed by Rao Bakht Sing of Bedla, the Udaipur troops started in pursuit of the Nimach mutineers to Chittore. Captain Showers having gone on a short

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visit to Nimach, Captains Sir John Hill Bart, and Ellice of the 1st Bengal Cavalry, accompanied the troops. In a few hours, Captain Showers inspected the deserted Cantonment, left in attendance on Captain Lloyd, the Superintendent, a confidential Darbar officer, having control over the Raj troops at the neighbouring Udaipur post and then marched to Chittore to join the pursuing force.

On their advance from Chittore a few miles beyond Gangrar, they learnt that a party of the rebellious cavalry had been there, but an hour or two before their arrival, hunting for the postal runners at the station. Arrangements were made for the protection of these and for the security of the post in transit.

On continuing the march without halt, stragglers began to fall into their hands. Among others the two Mewar Agency Chaprasis who had been left in charge of General Lawrence's property and who had joined the mutineers after plundering the same, were overtaken and captured. Property of every description strewed the road of retreating rebels.

The Raos of Hamirgarh and Mahwa, both loyal Mewar Chiefs, received the pursuing force well on passing their capitals and joined the camp in person with their quotas of horse.

Captain Showers had requested General Lawrence and Brigadier Macan commanding at Nasirabad, to send the Brigade at that station (which had recently come from Disa) to Kekri with the proposal of making a combined attack of the Brigade and the Mewar troops upon

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the mutineers; but General Lawrence, with various reasons the foremost of which were the safety and protection of Ajmer, could not spare the Brigade and the Mewar troops, though trustworthy, were not strong enough to contend single-handed with the mutineers.

The Nimach mutineers thus going unchecked to Deoli, the head quarters of the Kota Contingent, burnt the station and after seizing two pieces of ordnance and the whole magazine in store, proceeded on their march to Agra.

One Staff-Sergeant, with three women and six children (all Europeans), that had fled for life on the outrage at Deoli, were rescued by the Udaipur authorities of Jahazpur, joined the Political Agent's Camp at that place which was the last stage to its movement onward, and were brought to Nimach.

When the attack on the Nimach mutineers by the proposed operation had been conclusively abandoned, the Mewar troops had no other recourse than to return southward to provide for the safety of Nimach and hearing that the rebellious Mahidpur Contingent were coming through Mandalgarh pass, they took that route in the journey homeward and reached Nimach.

The rebellion having now spread to the Contiguous province of Malva to the south, and Nimach, lying in the direct route of the mutineers and insurgents of Indore and Mow to Delhi, to which rebels from all parts directed their steps, the officers of the mutinous infantry corps of the station were ordered on the 6th July to

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proceed with their women and children to the safer Cantonment of Nasirabad; but no European or even trustworthy native troops being available, the question of providing an escort for them was a subject of anxious solicitude. It only remained to trust in the difficulty to the support and protection of the Udaipur Darbar, whose active efforts in equipping troops in the field for the pursuit of the Nimach mutineers had already been so satisfactorily exhibited. Calling upon the Darbar then, to provide an escort, the party was consigned to the protection of the Darbar Officer in Command, and notwithstanding the increased sources of danger arising from the events of the period, were safely escorted to their destination through one of the wildest tracks of country in India, held at all times. Colonel Abbott, the Senior Officer of the party, wrote on their arrival there on the 17th July :—"The commander of our escort and the escort have behaved admirably."

The other party of the Nimach refugees that had been rescued at Dungla after residing for a long time in safety and comfort in the water palace of the Pichola lake under the protection and as honoured guests of the Maharana of Udaipur, were safely escorted by the Udaipur troops across the Aravali mountains to the summer retreat of mount Abu.

Thus through the staunch fidelity and friendship of the Maharana of Udaipur, the whole of the refugees from the flames of their desolated dwelling at Nimach and from the fury of the revolted soldiery, were rescued and escorted to places of safety.

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At the time of rising in Malva in July there were nine English officers present at Nimach with the only reliable force, the Mewar troops. Even these the enemies tried to mislead by circulating a report that the English with the object of destroying their caste, had mixed human bone dust in the flour served out to them. On hearing this Captain Showers requested Arjun Singh, the Udaipur Vahil, to put the matter straight. The Vakil, a Brahmin by caste, arriving at the Bazar, asked the suspected flour to be produced and having a handful of it, kneaded and made into bread, ate it himself before them. This at once dispelled all doubt and averted danger.

The Bombay troops that were sent along with a company of the 83d European from Nisirabad to garrison Nimach, made several attempts to revolt, and their attempt on the 15th August was suppressed with the help of Udaipur troops with much promptitude and success.

On his going from Nimach to Chittore, Captain Showers, as he says, was treated arrogantly by Gulam Muhi-ud-din Khan, the Tonk Hakim of Nimahera, that the Nimach mutineers were welcomed at the place and the Mewar troops sent in pursit of them from Sadri, were not allowed to enter the town, its gates being shut against them. Captain Showers was led to believe the conduct of the Nimahera Hakim to be rebellious and this was one of his reasons to avoid passing through the town on his return from Jahazpur and to go to Nimach *via* Mandalgarh pass. Such his views were not

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confined to the Nimahera Hakim alone, but he went so far as to say that, " most of the detached districts of this Mohamadan principality (Tonk) sympathised with the Delhi dynasity during the mutiny and gave trouble.

In the middle of August a fresh insurrection arose at Mandisore, headed by a fanatic priest prince, named Firoz Shah. It soon acquired a formidable dimension, and an attack on Nimach was immediately threatened as the rebels, like all others, contemplated going to Delhi.

Captain Showers was informed that Nimahera Musalmans of Tonk were in communication with Mandisore rebels. He apprehended that an attack from the latter on the south, while Nimahera only 16 miles on the north, co-operated with them, would be very dangerous to Nimach and as Nimahera is situated on the road from Nimach to Nasirabad, the chance of a mutual support between the two stations would also be precluded. With these and such other considerations it seemed to Captain Showers, the Political Agent of Mewar, and Colonel Jackson, Commandant at Nimach, essential to their safety to occupy Nimahera and thus to secure at all events their fear and the only line of communication open to them, before the road between Mandisore and Nimach was passable for the rebel guns at the close of rains.

About 300 Government native troops with three guns marched from Nimach on Nimahera, and were joined by a Contingent of Mewar troops, ordered by Captain

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Showers from neighbouring Udaipur Stations in virtue of the authority delegated to him by the Maharana's sign manual. Nemahera was taken and occupied by the combined troops after a gallant defence, as the invading forces were once forced to retreat, and Captain Showers punished some men, as his Chobdar, who was sent with the message to surrender the place, had been cut down.

The possession of Nimahera was made over to the Mewar troops, and the Udaipur Officers administered its affairs for two years until it was restored to the Nawab of Tonk by Lord Canning in his Agra Darbar at the recommendation of General George Lawrence, the Agent, Governor-General.

On the approach of Mandisore insurgents under Firoz Shah on the 8th November, the regular Cavalry, 250 Sabres, under Captain Bannister and Mewar, bodyguard of 300 horse under Captain Showers with Captain Lloyd, the Superintendent, proceeded to oppose them The enemy were about 2,000, of which were 100 horse, about 500 Walayties undisciplined fighting men, and the remainder armed rabble gathered probably in hope of plunder. They formed line in open single files and opened fire from three guns. Captain Bannister was requested to make a combined charge, but he declined on the ground of restrictive orders from his superior officers and soon after retired from the field. The rebels then breaking into column of route, continued their march towards Nimach, the Mewar detachment was then brought in direction of the bridge over the Nala to offer a check to the enemy's entry. This movement

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had the desired effect, the enemy halted and were compelled to bivouac for the night. But as the infantry did not come out of the fort and the cavalry did not return to take the field, the Mewar horse had to be withdrawn, the enemy streamed unopposed into the station; fired every remaining house in the Cantonment and besieged the fort.

The Mewar troops remained in observation preventing the enemy's horse from overrunning the country, rescuing several parties that had fallen into their hands and daily communicating with the garrison to supply them stores and provisions. The siege of the Nimach fort and increase of the investing rebel force continued for a long time, until, on the advance of the Mau Column, led by Colonel Durand, the necessity of defending their friends at Mandisore, compelled the Nimach rebels to raise the siege; and the entire destruction of Firoz Shah's adherents in the battle of Guraria left Nimach secure. The Mewar troops, then no longer required, left Nimach and returned to Udaipur with the Political Agent.

In April 1858, the first detachment of the reinforcement from England detailed for Rajputana arrived, and a wing of the 72nd Seaforth Highlanders marched into Udaipur in progress on Nimach under Captain Crombie. They were very hospitably treated and entertained by the Maharana. Taken in boats and State barges to the island palace, they were rejoiced to see the place of refuge of the Nimach fugitives. This was the first Highland regiment that had ever-

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come to India. The natives were equally astonished as delighted at the splendid physique of the men and the striking and picturesque plumed bonnets and tartan plaids of their uniform; but above all were their hearts stirred in sympathy with the martial bag-pipes so near in unisore with their own wild war-skirls. The piper played before the Maharana who presented him with a handsome honorarium.

During several incursions of the rebel force under Tantia Topi into Mewar in the latter part of 1858, the Udaipur Darbar afforded every facility for providing supplies and giving timely information of the enemy's movements to the different pursuing columns under Brigadier Parke, Major Taylor, General Roberts, Major Rocke, Captain Hutchinson, Colonel Benson, Brigadier Somerset, and General Michel. The pursuing British army was too strong to require any military support from a Native State; yet abundant provisions at every stage of their speedy movement and the timely information of the presence of the enemy in the hilly country covered with ravines, defiles, and forest, were not less valuable.

The Maharana continued loyal and true to the end; assisted the British by all possible means at his disposal, and never despaired of their ultimate success and rejoiced on their final victory.

Besides his personal fidelity and attachment and the devoted loyalty of his chiefs and subjects evident from the foregoing narrative, Maharana Sarup Sing, as acknowledged head of the Rajput princes, exerted his

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great influence on the part of the British Government, by advising all his friends and relatives who applied to him for counsel at the crisis, to stand firm in their allegiance to the Government, a Counsel which was efficiently recommended to their adoption by his own high example.

His extreme foresight and sincerity in British cause were testified by the issue of a proclamation, even before the outbreak at Nimach, to the Tankadar Rajput Chiefs under the Nimach superintendency, who, though politically separated from him at present, are the scions of his family, and four of them are still classed among the 32 hereditary nobles of the State. When the revolt took place on the 3rd June, and many of the British officers and families sought protection in some of these chiefships, all were very hospitably sheltered.

To the Maharaja of Rewa, who was closely connected to him by marriage, and asked for advice, the Maharana's advice was :—" Through the good fortune of the Sarkar (the British Government), it is hoped, everything will be speedily settled. The advent of the British power has proved beneficial to all the Chiefs and means of restoring tranquility to the country. On this account we earnestly wish and pray Sriji (deity) for the stability of the British power. It is, therefore, the duty of every one of us to afford all assistance to the Government, I advise you to bear this in mind and follow my example." It was mainly under the influence of this advice and example that the Rewa Maharaja stood alone in his staunchness to the British and

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support of the Political Resident in all the difficulties by which he was surrounded.

Maharaja Takht Sing of Jodhpur sent an accredited minister to Udaipur to seek counsel, and the answer returned by the Maharana was to the same effect as that given to the Maharaja of Rewa, advising him to stand firm by the British Government. The Jodhpur mission arrived at Udaipur on the 8th October, and hence it is evident it was sent under the difficulty in which Maharaja Takht Singh found himself plunged on the failure of his attack on Ahwa and loss of Major Mason on the 30th September.

The Maharao of Kota, who, like the Maharaja of Rewa, was connected by marriage to Udaipur house, applied the Maharana for advice on the revolt of his troops and murder of the Political Agent. His advice to the Maharao was not to allow what had happened to induce him to commit himself with the British Government. The Maharana wished to bring away and receive his relation, the Kota Rani at Udaipur or at least to afford her refuge within his territories, as the privacy of the Kota Seraglio was hardly secure from the assault of the rebellious troops on the palace. But at the advice of the Political Agent, who did not think it proper that Kota men should mix with those of Udaipur, as the Rani could come only with a large retinue, the Maharana gave up the proposal.

The Maharana also proposed to write to the Raja of Nipal, as being a junior branch of Udaipur house in view to bringing about a combined movement in favour

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of the Government between the Nipalese and all other Rajput States, but was desisted from doing so at the advice of the Political Agent who considered the time too critical and pregnant with hourly change in events to encourage the proposal.

In order to show the sentiments, the Maharana entertained towards the paramount power, his letter of congratulation addressed to Her Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress on the occasion of her assuming the direct Government of India, is herein quoted :—

"After dutiful respects and compliments.—The announcement made in the Royal word, that the Queen of England is coming to rule over us, has shed light and joy over this darkened land like the moon rising upon the night. Impelled by the emotions which fill my breast, I hasten to offer my humble tribute of loyalty to your Majesty, and with the involuntary out-pouring of my joy, I desire to mingle the expression of my grateful sense of solicitude for your Indian subjects, evinced by the act by which your Majesty has taken us all under your immediate protection, and thus removing the late intermediate link, has riveted the chain of affection by which my humble throne is brought nearer, and bound inseparably to your high throne.

"The gratification at this proof of your regard for our welfare, which all the princes of India will, I believe, share equally with myself, is enhanced by the assurance so graciously given by your royal word that your Majesty will respect the rights, dignity, honour, and

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religion of Indian princes as your own. Not that the assurance was needed for my own satisfaction for I had ever confidence in the magnanimity of England's Queen who, as the ruler of so mighty a nations, could afford to indulge the promptings of her generous heart towards her protected princes.

"I desire to offer my congratulations on the crushing of the head of the great rebellion which has swept like a vengeful Avatar over this land. I had no doubt myself of the end that has been accomplished so entirely in accordance with my hopes and prayers. It was equally a gratification to me, as it seemed a duty, to reassure in that dark hour of danger, many of my brother sovereigns who, when cut off from the accustomed support of British troops, applied to me for counsel and reminding them of the benefits we had all experienced under British protection, to advise all to stand firm with me in our loyalty to your Majesty's throne and royal person. All of these have shown their fidelity accordingly standing steadfast through all difficulties. But to few it was given what fell my good fortune, to be enabled to show my unalterable attachment to the British rule by extending my humble aid and protection to the British refugees when betrayed by the revolted soldiery cantoned within my territories.

"That the auspicious change in the Government now inaugurated may prove to India, still smouldering from the recent conflagration, like rain from heaven at once qnenching the fire and renovating the soil; that the consciousness of the benefits your Majesty will have

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extended to millions by that act, may increase the happiness of your own heart, and reflected, create an additional source of gladness and guardian interest throughout your Royal Family, is the earnest hope and prayer of your Majesty's faithful and most devoted servant."

(The Udaipur Royal seal affixed.)

It may be remarked here with regret that General Lawrence, the Agent, Governor-General and Captain Showers, the Political Agent of Mewar, were at variance at this eventful period. On the report of General Lawrence that the Political Agent had acted with insubordination, Lord Canning, after a thorough and impartial inquiry, removed Captain Showers from the Political service by his order of the 24th February 1860; while Captain (afterwards Lieutenant-General) Showers, in his "Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny," has tried to vindicate his conduct and to show that he was slighted and treated unjustly by his superior. Among the acts of Captain Showers that met the disapproval of the Government, the foremost was the occupation of Nimahera by the Udaipur troops.

History of the Indian Mutiny by Kaye and Malleson, Volume III, page, 173 and Appendix A.

Captain Showers, in bringing the charge of rebellion against the Hakim of Nemahera and through him against his master, the Nawab of Tonk (as his writings show) and therewith seizing Nimahera, seems to have been led to believe that the pargana would be permanently wrested from Tonk and granted to Udaipur, not only as a fitting reward for the Maharana's

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distinguished services, but also as fulfilment of the stipulation contained in article 7th of the treaty of 1818 with Udaipur, wherein it was promised that the Government will use its best exertions for the restoration to Udaipur of places which had fallen into other hands by improper means. But this his idea proved to have been formed under a misguided zeal and Nimahera, as already stated, was restored to Tonk with its revenues for the years 1858 and 1859, collected by the Udaipur Darbar.

These unhappy circumstances have been injurious to the interests of the Udaipur Darbar, not because Nimahera was restored to Tonk, for, the Darbar had not desired the possession of Nimahera at that juncture; but because, it was deprived of its proper share of the appreciation of its services by the Government as signified by grants of lands and money to other princes whose services were not superior to those of the Maharana.

That he acted in compliance with the wishes of Captain Showers was no fault of the Maharana. In the first instance all the acts of Captain Showers were not contemptible, for even, in the order of removing him from the Political service Lord Canning could not avoid acknowledging his "good abilities and zeal for the public service." Again, since he was the Political Agent or the representative of the British Government, the Maharana could act in no better way than to carry out his wishes regardless of the fact that his acts were approved or disapproved by his superiors.

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The Native princes of India are in allegiance to the British Government, and what they did during the mutinies, was their duty bound by treaties. The grants made by the Government for their services were mere gratuities for which no legal claim can be made. Udaipur, more than all other Rajputana States, is indebted to the repeated favours of the Government, the last but not the least of which was the reduction of its tribute, in 1846, by Rs. 1,00,000 per annum; and the encomiums poured upon Maharana Sarup Sing by the Viceroy and Her Majesty the Queen Empress, were more precious rewards than any grant can be. Yet, it would have been more consistent with the liberal magnanimity of the Supreme Government, had Udaipur received some gift in common with the other loyal feudatories of the empire on that particular occasion. That it failed to do so, can be attributed only to its misfortune of having Captain Showers for its Political Agent at the time.

(Maharana Shimbhu Sing, who succeeded Sarup Sing in 1861, received the privilege of adoption granted to all Indian pinces and was also created a Knight Grand Commander of the Order of the Star of India.)

SECTION II.

Dungarpur, Banswara and Partapgarh.

The rulers of three southern most States of Rajputana, named Dungarpur, Banswara, and Partapgarh, are the offshoots of the Udaipur house, the two former having sprung from it in the early part of the 13th century, and the last later on in the 15th.

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Mahap, the founder of Dungarpur, was the son of Karan and grandson of Rawal Samarsi of Chittore who was killed in 1193, with his brother-in-law, Prithi Raj Chauhan in his battle against Shahab-ud-din Gori. Some generation after Mahap, Udai Singh came to power in 1509 and accompanied Sanga Rana in his fight against Babar and was slain at Khanwa in 1527. Of his two sons, Pirthi Raj, the elder, succeeded to the Dungarpur State, and the younger, Jagmal, after long struggle in the hills to the south-east, formed a new principality and established himself at Banswara whence the States became two separated by the Mahi Nadī as their natural boundary.

The ruler of Partapgarh is a descendant of Khem Singh, the son of Rana Mokal and younger brother of Rana Khambu who ruled at Chittore from 1419 to 1474. Khem Singh held Chota Sadri and was followed in succession there by Suraj Mal, Bagh Singh and Rai Singh. Bika, the son of Rai Singh, left Mewar in 1553 and established himself first at Deolia in 1561, and subsequently at Partapgarh, and hence the State is called Deolia Partapgarh.

In spite of their holding three distinct States formally recognized so by separate treaties with the British Government, the rulers of these States continue to form one family, and succession in one has often taken place by adoption from another.

In 1857, the ruling princes were Maharawals, Udai Singh and Lachman Singh, and Maharawat Dalpat Singh at Dungarpur, Banswara and Partapgarh, respectively,

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and though the first was not till then invested with the powers of administration, his State being managed by a regent, yet all the three not only emerged from the crisis of the mutiny without a stain but also rendered good services to their liege lord, the British Government.

These States being in close proximity to Mandisore where insurrection gained large proportions in August and September, Firoz Shah, the head leader of the rebels, demanded allegiance from the Maharawat of Partapgarh as well as from the Nawab of Jacra and the Rajas of Ratlam and Sitamou, and directed them to present themselves before him and join the rebel cause. The Dungarpur State was at the same time threatened for affording assistance to the British officers. Nothing daunted these princes stood firm in their fidelity to the British Government, sent up all the communications in original received from the rebels to Captain Showers and continued to watch the opportunity of striking a blow at the insurgents.

When Colonel Durand destroyed the rebel force and forced Firoz Shah to fly in the battle of Guraria on the 24th November, the Afgans and Makranas, who were as panic stricken as they had been bold, fled through the country avoiding towns and villages, and endeavouring to seek refuge in the jungle. A party of them more daring than their fellows, suddenly appeared at Partapgarh the loyal Maharawat of which summoning his Thakurs, attacked them, killed eighty of their number, including Kasim Khan Walaiti, their leader, and drove the rest into flight.

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After his defeat by Brigadier Parke on the 3rd December 1858, at Chota Udaipur on the Narbada where the rebel force was dispersed, Tantia Topi with but a portion of his troops, passed Deogarh Baria in great surprise and entered Banswara from the south on the 10th. Here the Rao of Kushalgarh, a frontier chief tributary to Banswara, made a gallant attempt to resist his entry for which he received an honorary reward from the Government. But the rebel force was still too strong (numbering 5,000) to be successfully repulsed by Banswara levies, and thus carrying all before him, Tantia occupied the capital on the 11th, and halted there for a day when his men plundered 16 or 17 camel loads of cloth coming from Ahmadabad. The Maharawal's palaces were not, however, carried, as the opportune arrival of a British detachment under Major Learmouth, the 17th Lancers, saved the town from being sacked and drove Tantia northward. Here he was hemmed by troops under British Commanders, Roberts' division was on the west, Major Rocke guarded him on the north and north-west, Somerset watched him from east and south-east, and on the south and south-east he was cut off by detachments from Burhanpur and Khandesh. The advance of Colonel Somerset's column from Ratlam particularly forced him to retire in a north-westerly direction towards Salumar.

During Tantia's momentary refuge in Banswara jungles, both Banswara and Partapgarh were disturbed by his successive raids and sympathies of both the princes, and their people were with the British troops pursuing

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the rebel. They also co-operated with the pursuers to the extent of their power, and their subjects, the Bhils, far from aiding Tantia, followed his track as vulture follows the wounded hare, anxious for the moment when she shall lie and succumb and eventually expelled him.

From Salumar, Tantia set out in the hope of surprising Udaipur, but Major Rocke's column had taken np a position at Bhainsror to cover Udaipur and fall upon him. Discovering this obstacle, Tantia turned sharply to north-east and halted two days at Bhilwara in the densest jungle and then marched southward to Partapgarh.

The detachment, which had been posted in observation of the Partapgarh passes on the east, having been withdrawn at that juncture to form part of a force required to watch the fresh irruption of rebels under Firoz Shah into Central India, Partapgarh was left uncovered. As this capital lay in the direction in which Tantia had retreated, and he especially intended to attack it equally as a rich city for plunder and in revenge for the lives of the rebels under Kasim Khan slain last year, Major Rocke's detachment, consisting of one squadron and cavalry, two 9-pounder guns and two companies, 72nd Highlanders, was moved by a forced flank march to cover Partapgarh. It arrived there on the 23rd December, and, as it proved, not too soon, for, on the following morning, intelligence was received that Tantia, with his whole force, was in a full march upon it. The force being very weak, the camp was sent into the city with

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all its baggage and cattle for security within its walls, and the column marched westward towards the Banswara Ghat to cover the city and took up a defensive position on a rising knoll on the westernmost extremity of the city walls. The enemy soon made his appearance, and surrounding the British force on three sides, opened a musketry fire. The infantry replied and the guns fired sharpnell and grape. The mutinied 5th Bengal Irregular cavalry then formed up upon the British left flank with apparent intention of charging, but the guns being turned at them a few rounds of grape served to repel the charge. At night fall, the enemy's fire slackened, then ceased, and it soon became apparent that favoured by darkness they retreated round both sides of the city to the eastward in the direction of Mandisore. Partapgarh was saved and a considerable loss was inflicted on the enemy, including a leader of note, as indicated by the richly accoutred corpse though not identified from its head being cut off and taken away. Some elephants were captured and men taken prisoners though a larger number of the huge animals and a greater part of the baggage were taken away. Colonel Benson then took up the pursuit, and saving Mandisore, overtook Tantia at Zirapur and routed him with slaughter.

Banswara was traversed more than once in 1857 by British troops coming from Bombay, and every facility was afforded by the State to ensure their safe and comfortable passage.

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CHAPTER III.

Jaipur Agency.

SECTION I.

Jaipur.

Jaipur is the most splendid, wealthy, and advanced State of Rajputana; it has always been renowned for its strict adherence to the cause of the paramount power and for its conciliatory policy. History is teeming with the gallant deeds performed by many of its rulers under the Mugal empire, and though these deeds sometimes met with ingratitude, yet there was never a lack in its fidelity to one whom it had once acknowledged its liege lord.

Raja Man Sing was a most brilliant character in Akbar's Court. As the emperor's lieutenant, he was entrusted with arduous duties, and to his great credit he discharged these duties very satisfactorily. Uraisa was subjugated by him, Assam humbled and made tributary, and Kabul forced to remain in allegiance to the empire. He held in sucession the Governments of Bengal and Bihar, of the Dakhan, and of Kabul; and he died governor of Bengal. Still it is said that Akbar died in an attempt to murder Man Sing by poison.

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Mirza Raja Jai Sing performed meritorious services to Aurangzeb who bestowed on him the highest dignity in the empire. Bringing into the court as prisoner, of Sewaji, the founder of the Marahta dynasty, in which Generals like Shayaste Khan, Jaswant Sing and prince Moazzim, had failed, was not the task of a common-judgment and fortitude, but the appreciation of the services by the crafty emperor was stigmatized with nothing short of the loss of his life through the agency of an undutiful son.

Sawai Jai Sing was the most enlightened sovereign that ever ruled in Rajputana. He was at once a statesman, legislator, and man of science, and had a particuiar liking for astonomy. The grand observatories erected by him with the instruments of his own invention at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujain, Banaras and Mathra, convey his name to posterities as great patron of that science. In spite of the ill-treatments described above, received by his predecessors, Sawai Jai Sing was one of the few princes who retained their fidelity to Farukhser when the conspirarcy to deprive him of his life and empire, was formed, and he would have stood him to the last, had the emperor possessed a particle of the valour of the house of Temur. Again he assisted Mahamad Shah, on his advance from Agra, with 4,000 horse and mainly contributed to his victory over Abdulla, the Sayad Wazir.

Of the British period it may be said with confidence that Jaipur has been friend and compliant to the Government from the very beginning. Not to speak

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of obedience and concession with which it has invariably acted subsequentty to its entering into alliance with the Government and thereby being bound with treaties, its one act, the surrender of Wazir Ali, the ex-Nawab of Oudh, who, after committing the murder at Banaras in 1800, of Mr. Cherry, the Resident, his Private Secretary, and Captain Conway had fled to Jaipur, shows an amount of moral courage, sense of justice and submission to the wishes of Government that cannot be praised in too high terms. The vulgar belief in the sanctity of Sarna or sheltering criminals was so very strong that it required more than sixty years' incessant labour of the political officers to impress upon the minds of the princes and the people the preference of the ends of justice to that wicked prejudice and the necessity of surrendering the offenders and to have the extradition treaties concluded in 1868. Jaipur already knew what others came to know after such a length of time and this is the best criterian of its advancement in civilization and implicit concurrence with the views of the predominent power.

To return to our subject. In 1857, the Maharaja was Ram Sing, a prince of good education and high natural parts. Being brought up under the fostering care of Majors Thorseby and Ludlow and Captain Records, and the special guardianship of Pandit Sheo Din, of whom we shall shortly speak more, he entertained liberal views of every question connected with the State administration and was fully alive of the duties of his exalted position. The Maharaja was,

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indeed, a young man, 25 years old, and invested with the powers of his Government only some five years previously, but his want of experience was fully made up by the wisdom, sagacity and faithfulness of his ministers, Thakur Lachman Sing, Pandit Sheo Din and Bakhshi Faiz Ali Khan.

Thakur Lachman Sing was a Nathawat Rajput of Chomu, the premier noble of the State whose house is famous for uninterrupted loyalty and devotion to the State. Thakur Rawal Bairi Lal of Samod was the medium of negotiations when the treaty of alliance was concluded between Jaipur and the British Government; the Nathawat family, to which both Chomu and Samod houses belong, has, therefore, been on the part of the Political Agent in all matters that have ever been the subject of discussion in the State; and Thakur Lachman Sing was a zealous advocate of the policy.

Pandit Sheo Din was an enlightened student of the Agra College of very high education and great administrative capacity. He was not a hereditary noble but a high caste Kanojia Brahmin and though originally of poor circumstances, he acquired through sheer personal merits the highest position in the State. From guardianship of the Maharaja he rose gradually as Principal of the College, Civil Judge, and Musahib or Prime Minister. His strict fiddelity and uprightness procured him an implicit confidence of his master, and he was so popular and amiable that throughout the long period of his incumbency of the office not a single

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individual in the State had reason to complain that he had received a wrong at the hand of Pandit Sheo Din. He guided the State vessel in the dubious ocean of the mutiny against the surges and whirlpools of political warfare and brought her safely to anchor in the port.

Bakhshi Faiz Ali Khan, a Badgujar Rajput, convert to Islam, holding the estate of Pahasu in the Bulandshahr district, was the Commander-in-Chief of the Jaipur army. Being at the same time well-educated, he was competent to discharge civil as well as military duties. On the death of Pandit Sheo Din, he was appointed Prime Minister, and for a long time conducted the State affairs very creditably. Most of the improvements for which Jaipur has been famous, were made during his incumbency of the Office. On retirement from the Jaipur service with a handsome Jagir, he served the Imperial Government as a member of the Viceregal Council, and for all this, his brilliant career he was raised to the high title of Nawab Sir Faiz Ali Khan Bahadur, K.C.S.I.

Assisted by such ministers, the Maharaja, just as the outbreak of the mutiny at Delhi was announced, put an army of Infantry and Cavalry with seven guns, altogether amounting to between six and seven thousand at the disposal of Major William Fredric Eden, the able and energetic Political Agent for the service of the Government in the field, and kept only seven hundred soldiers and eighteen hundred Nagas for the protection of the capital.

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Nearly half of the army, sent with Major Eden, also consisted of Nagas, a strong and sturdy body of military celibates of semi-religious order, who are as staunch and faithful to their prince as obedient to their religious chiefs. They are divided into Jamayats, cantoned at different stations in the State and commanded by their Mahants and Bhandaris as their chiefs. Most of the Nagas are Dadupanthis or followers of Dadu Dayal, and there is one Jamayat of Nimawats, a sect of the Baishnaw Bairagis. The Nagas are paid at the rate of Rs. 2 per Langoti (a scanty covering of the secret part of the body) meaning per head, and a free share of booty on the occosions of conquest. Their number in a Jamayat is not confined to those paid, but the Mahants have many more disciples who serve the State equally well with the others, and they are always a ready recruit to fill vaccancies caused by deaths. They are not subject to any discipline, nor they wear any uniform or particular dress. They do not serve as guards or escorts but their services are limited to military operations against a refractory subject or a foreign enemy.

The army was commanded by Bakhshi Faiz Ali Khan in person, and Thakur Ranjit Sing of Achrol accompanied it as second in command. Major Eden at once marched with the army directly towards Delhi evidently with the intention of striking a blow to the mutineers and recovering the place, but on his arrival at Rewari, he found to his great mortification that the Gurgaon district intervening between him and Delhi, was in a most deplorable state of anarchy.

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A party of the Merath mutinous cavalry passing through Delhi on the 11th May, had come to Bijwasan, a few miles from the Civil Station, Gurgaon. Mr. Ford, the Collector and Magistrate, went out to attack them and was attacked in return; immediately the station was put to fire and plundered and prisoners let loose from jail. Mr. Ford, with other officers of the station as well as the Patrols and Assistant Patrols on the customs line running through the district flying for lives, concealed themselves at different places, and the customs line that extended for longer than a thousand miles along the border of British India, was burnt and destroyed in a single night. The Mews, a turbulent and lawless people, inhabiting nearly half of the district, rising in revolt not only plundered but also depopulated by digging out buildings in search of treasure, the flourishing towns of Firozpur, Tawru and Nuh, the last of which was also sacked as the Khanzadas, defended it. Communication was altogether stopped and life and property were in great danger.

Considering that his presence would be more usefully employed in rescuing the British officers in distress and restoring order in the district, and thinking at the same time that the Jaipur army, though loyal and willing to perform every service, was not with its defective drill and discipline, capable to cope with the mutineers expert in every military operation, Major Eden changed his resolution and proceeded eastward to the interior of the district.

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Rewari was till then in a better state. Rao Tula Ram, an Ahir chief Istamrardar of some eighty villages, assuming the administration, conducted the affairs in an ordinary manner. Rai Sohan Lall, the Tahsildar, was confirmed in his office and allowed to continue the work, the town was strengthened by fortification, and attacks of the Mews and other insurgents on it were repelled. As this his conduct appeared to be praiseworthy rather than objectionable, Major Eden left him unmolested. Had it been known at the time that Tula Ram in future would prove himself a notorious rebel by intriguing with the Delhi King, joining the mutineers and opposing the British army at Narnoul in junction with the Jodhpur Legion and Samand Khan, the Jhajar Nawab's General, Major Eden would have made a short work of him and cut down the mischief in the bud.

The road between Tawru and Sohna lies across many deep nalas of the surrounding hills which are scattered over by numerous villages of the Mews; on the day the Jaipur army was on its march in that locality, thousands of armed Mews gathering on the hills around, threatened to plunder it. One of them, named Jahangir Khan, who was Thanedar of Sohna, while going to receive the army in his official capacity, also acted as representative of his brethren. Bakhshi Faiz Ali Khan was crossing a Nala, a mile or two to the west of Sohna when this man had the audacity to catch hold of the reins of his horse and to demand a large sum of money for the Mews that they might

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be prevented from attacking and plundering the army! Instantly, as the Bakhshi hinted his orderlies, Jahangir Khan was cut down to pieces, artillery opening fire to different quarters, burnt villages and destroyed a number of the Mews.

The army halted three days at Sohna where about thirty European officers, Mr. Harvey, the Commissioner, Mr. Colvin, a son of the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Ford and others, of the Civil and Customs departments, after being subjected to great difficulties, joined the camp, were relieved of their sufferings and provided with comfort aud security.

For a long time the army sojourned between Palwal and Hodal on the Delhi and Agra road, but the heavy rains that fell that year, brought on sickness in the camp. Fever prostrated a larger number, cholera broke out with virulence, and desertion an evident sign of discontent spirit commenced in the troops. Under such circumstances the officers deemed it prudent to return to Jaipur and Major Eden did not hesitate to comply with their request.

The number of fugitive officers had increased by additions to those that had joined at Sohna, and it was necessary to put them in a place of safety before the army could assume its march homeward. There was no such place nearer than the Agra fort already crowded by refugees from all the surrounding districts, and to it the officers, with exception of those whose duty required their presence elsewhere, were safely and comfortably conducted under a strong escort headed

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by Thakurs Bhopal Sing Nathawat and Sobhag Sing Ladkhani.

Considering the constitution of the Jaipur troops, it was very much to the credit of Bakhshi Faiz Ali Khan that they did not break out into mutiny; for there is little doubt that the men were of the same class exposed to the same influence, and had the same religious feelings, as had exhibited itself in open mutiny elsewhere. At the capital itself where are settled many, whose families came originally from Delhi with which they have always been in close communication, the state of matters was for a long time exceedingly critical. By the Maharaja's careful and wise conduct and the exhortation to all parties by Pandit Sheo Din, assisted by the good feelings of most of the members of the Court any outbreak in the city of Jaipur was prevented.

In the absence of Major Eden with the army, the Maharaja housed Mrs. Eden and other Europeon families in Badal Mahal on the Talkatora Tank, and as the troubles of the rebellion increased in intensity, sheltered them in the lofty Nahargarh palace overlooking the city beyond the reach of any evil-minded people.

The mutinous Nasirabad regiments passed by Jaipur, en route to Delhi, and demanded the Maharaja to deliver up all his Christian proteges. To this he flatly refused, adding boldly that they might take them by force if they could. At the same time the troops in the capital were put in order to give the mutineers a battle and Sheo Din and Lachman Sing

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were busily engaged in the disposition of the forces and bringing 18 guns to be opened on the rebels ; when Mrs. Eden coming to know the preparations, ran to the Maharaja and dissuaded him from the intention, saying that the mutineers had seen actions in Afganistan, at Ghazni and Jallalabad, they were known as "Lord Ellenborough's illustrious garrison" with a thorough discipline, a practical experience and inured to hardships and privations, the composition of the body did not permit the success of the inefficient and inexperienced troops of Jaipur that were sent out to oppose them. It would have been disastrous if this imprudent experiment would have been tried, but fortunately the rebels were disheartened by the proud and definant bearing of the Maharaja, and fearing the strength of the State at its capital, left it unchallanged for their journey onward. Another cause of their speedy departure from Jaipur was a want of union among themselves. Soon after their leaving Nasirabad, while Lieutenant Walter was watching their course from Kishangarh, the 15th and 30th regiments quarrelled for the possession of the plundered treasure which was forcibl yseized by one, and the artillery was taken by the other. Filled with jealousy and distrust of each other, they hastened to Delhi to have their dispute settled by their comrades at the king's Court. The valour and courage with which the Maharaja threatened them, was highly praised by Lord Canning in his Agra Darbar.

Rawal Sheo Singh, successor to Rawal Bairi Sall, the Minister plenipotentiary already mentioned,

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happened to be at Delhi on his way back from Jwalaji to Jaipur when the mutiny broke out. He was obliged to stay some days and was requested by Bahadur Shah to persuade his master to rise against the English and to serve him with the wonted attachment of his house to the Mugal dynasty. The cunning bold Rajput knew how to humour the puppet in the hands of the mutinous soldiery; literally on the pretence of bearing this mission he obtained passports and men that enabled him to reach Jaipur without any peril. What reply he sent back on his arrival can be easily conceived.

The officers of the mutinied regiments of Nimach and Nasirabad (the former of whom reached the latter station on the 17th July) with a number of ladies and children, were ordered by the Lieutenant-Governor to go to Agra so early as the beginning of July. They were living really in greatest destitution and want, with few or no servants, with little or no money, without any appliances of comfort and without anything to do. They would have seized earliest opportunity of going, had they been provided with transport and they had actually started and returned once from one stage on the mutiny of the Jodhpur Legion, and again from three stages on the advance of the Gwalior Contingent with the probability of coming in contact with them. Their patience at last being exhausted, Colonel Shuldham, the senior Officer of the party, applied to Major Eden for assistance; that officer at once responded to the call and made every exertion to carry out the necessary arrangements. He procured

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camels and strong trustworthy escort under Thakur Puran Sing of Jaipur ; but all was not ready till 11th November when they made a final start, and after a long march, relieved by the kind attentions of Major Eden at Jaipur and Captain Nixon at Bharatpur, and by unremitting exertions of Puran Sing to get everything done that could conduce to their comfort and safety ; they reached Agra on the 3rd December without mishap.

Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor, requested the Maharaja to keep the Agra and Ajmer road open to enable the mails to be transmitted through this way as communication on most of the other roads had been stopped by the disturbances, and how the Maharaja and the States of Bharatpur and Kishangarh on either side of Jaipur succeeded in complying with this request, is worthy of all praise. The mails were all punctual in reaching their destinations and not a single package was ever lost in transit.

The Jaipur troops, along with those of Sikar, unsuccessfully attacked, while on its march through Shekawati, the Jodhpur Legion which advancing a few stages farther on was destroyed by the British column under Colonel Gerrard on the 16th November 1857, at Narnoul.

In the pursuit of rebels under Tantia Topi, Rao Sahib and Firoz Shah, Brigadier Showers and Colonel Holmes received material assistance from Jaipur in their respective actions, on the 16th January 1859, at Deosa, and on the 21st at Sikar, in the former the rebels were defeated with a loss of 300 men, while in the latter

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the surprise was so complete that they abandoned horses, camels, and even arms, and fled in the utmost confusion.

These excellent services of Maharaja Ram Sing met the appreciation of the Imperial Government; and besides the valuable dresses of honor which he and his ministers, and servants who served faithfully during the mutiny, received in the Viceroy's Darbar at Agra in November 1859, the pargana of Kot Kasim which formed a part of the maintenance of the ex-king of Delhi, and yielded a revenue of about Rs. 50,000 per annum, was granted to him in perpetuity with the only condition of respecting the revenue settlement made during the British management. He was, moreover, created a Knight Grand Commander of the Order of Star of India, and subsequently a member of tbe Viceregal Council for a long time

SECTION II.

Kishagarh.

The State and town of Kishangarh were founded by Kishan Sing, the second son of Maharaja Udai Sing of Jodhpur, who, leaving his patrimoy, conquered the tract of country which now comprises the State and became its ruler under the sign Manual of Akbar in 1594. Very little of its history is known untill the reign of Maharaja Kallyan Sing, when, along with the other States of Rajputana, Kishangarh was taken under British protection in 1818. He suffered from unsoundness of mind and quarrelling with his nobles,

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went away to Delhi to lay his complaints before and to court the favours of the titular king there. Much confusion, accompanied with oppression and extortion, prevailed till Kallyan Sing was obliged to abdicate in favour of his son, Mohkam Sing, who ruled from 1832 to 1840. Pirthi Sing, the adopted son of Mohkam Sing, was the Maharaja of Kishangarh during the troubles of the mutiny and bore a character quite contrary to that of his predecessor, Kallyan Sing. He was very amiable and popular among his people and possessed great administrative capacity. His sympathies were always with the Government, and on the outbreak of the disturbance, he sent a body of troops, that his little State could afford, under Pancholi Nathu Ram, to serve at Ajmere according to the order of the Agent, Governor-General. Best arrangements were made by him for the transit of mails between Jaipur and Ajmer, so that the communication was never interrupted.

It is also said that efforts were made in the Kishangarh house at Delhi to save the lives of some Europeans on the first day of the mutiny, the 11th May 1857, as Kanhya Lall in his "Muharba Azim," an Urdu history of the mutiny says that: "When the regiments at Delhi mutinied, plundered the city and encamped on the Lall Diggi a tank before the fort, they placed a guard at the Kishangarh Raja's house with the belief that the Raja had sheltered Europeans. In fact more than 32 Europeans—men, women, and children—had taken refuge in the house. The rebels set fire to the house which continued burning for a day and night, but the Europeans concealed themselves in an underground room. On the

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next day, the rebels brought two guns from the Magazine and poured balls on the house. On the third day, the 13th May, they made a fresh attack, this time the Europeans opposed them with muskets and killed 30 men of the rebels, but their ammunition being exhausted, 30 Europeans came out and 4 remained in the room. The Wali Ahd of the king then came and asked the delivery of the Europeans, promising to watch them, but the rebels refused to do so and killed them all." This account partly corresponds with what the historians have written of a party of Europeans discovered, concealed in a house at Daryaganj, arrested and murdered in the fort.

CHAPTER IV.

Western Rajputana.

SECTION I.

Jodhpur.

Jodhpur or Marwar is the most extensive of all the Rajputana States, comprising, with extreme length of 330 and breadth of 160, an area of 30, 568 square miles. It is a wild country, mostly desert; here and there are towns and villages and little cultivation, but the great resource of the inhabitants is breeding animals that find abundant pasture in the desert plains, and Balotra horses, Nagori bullocks, and Marwari camels are famous for their superior quality throughout India. From poorly productive nature of the land, the density of population and revenues of the State are proportionally much less in comparison with the other States.

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Jodhpur territory is inhabited by a most valiant race of Rajputs, the Rathore of which the Maharaja is the head. The Rathores are at the same time very turbulent people, as till very recently there had never been a perfect peace between the prince and his dependents; and a greater time of the several successive rulers was spent in keeping down his refractory barons.

Maharaja Takht Sing, who ruled in 1857, had another disadvantage which made him more unpopular. He was not a Marwari by birth; descended from a collateral branch of the family that had long ago setted in Gujrat, he was the chief of Ahmadnagar, whence, on the failure of direct heirs by childless demise, in 1843, of Man Sing, the former ruler of Marwar, he was called to succeed him in the sovereignty, and was, therefore, looked upon by most of the Thakurs as a foreigner.

This deficiency would have been made up, had he tried to reconcile the barons in the long course of fourteen years, but from the time of his accession to power he never relaxed in his endeavours to resume their lands which his predecessor had been compelled to restore in 1839. He indulged much in pleasures and was careless of affairs and difficult of access; most of his nobles were extremely ill-disposed, some were inveiled and others in open rebellion against him.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the Maharaja was friendly to the British cause with all his heart and soul; and Captain Monck Mason, an officer, highly gifted energetic, possessing tact and judgment,

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represented the paramount power at his court as the Political Agent.

No sooner were they informed of the sad events that occurred at Delhi, then the Maharaja placed at the disposal of the Agent, a body of 2,000 troops with six guns which was sent to the British district of Ajmer to serve in the manner the local authorities of the district thought proper. Relays of bullocks were immediately put on the road from Jodhpur to Ajmer with the view that European fugitives from that district might be enabled to travel to Jodhpur in carts provided for that purpose.

So prompt was the military aid given by Jodhpur and Jaipur that as soon as the Nasirabad mutineers, after perpetrating their shameful deeds, marched to Delhi on the 29th May, Lieutenants Walter and Heathcote with a joint force of the two States, were on their heels in pursuit. The rebels passed unmolested as the Raj troops could not be expected successfully to invade the English trained mutinous soldiers, that does not show a lack in the zeal and fidelity of their masters who had sent them avowedly for the purpose.

Jodhpur stretched its helping hand to the sufferers of Nasirabad as Udaipur has done to those of Nimach; for, immediately as the tidings of the outbreak at that station reached Jodhpur, the Maharaja sent invitation with troops to escort to his capital, all the fugitives that had assembled at Byawar, with the promise that he would protect them till the return of the cold season, and peace should enable them to proceed to Bombay or elsewhere.

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There was much discussion on the advisability of accepting the offer. Every day brought different reports and fresh accounts to change the plans; the journey to Jodhpur was difficult and troublesome, and the fugitives were unprovided with commonest necessaries of life and almost without servants. It was supposed, Agra fort was a safer place and could they reach that place they should be in security under the guns of the fort; but that was long, difficult and dangerous journey. The weather was most unseasonable for marching; there were no tents, no means of conveyance, and no money.

It was at last decided to go to Jodhpur, and a party, consisting mainly of ladies, acordingly left Byawar under the protection of the escort sent by the Maharaja and reached Jodhpur without accident. The only thing they had to complain of, was the heat of the weather and badness of the road against which there could be no ready remedy. A tremendous storm had also overtaken them on the second day and driven them back to the last resting place. The rain poured in torrents, the lightning descended in vivid flashes to the earth, and the thunder pealed over their heads in terrific grandeur; yet, after surmounting all difficulties, they reached their destination with safety.

Two other ladies, the wife and sister of the Officer commanding the Kota Contingent, who had been left at Deoli on the departure of that corps to Agra, joined this party in the asylum after experiencing dangers and troubles far greater than theirs. These ladies had

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remained long under a slender guard of the Contingent in a fancied security unconscious of the dangers thickening around them, but General Lawrence, aware of their critical position, sent out palanquins and bearers from Ajmer to bring them away, urging to leave Deoli immediately. The admonition was not before wanted, for, the Nimach mutineers, who ravaged Deoli, reached there shortly after their departure. They escaped the danger, and after suffering the greatest possible inconvenience from exposure to the fierce rays of a June sun all day arrived at Ajmer safely, and thence went on to Jodhpur.

These and other fugitives that successively came from different quarters, were accommodated in the Sur Sagar palace used as Political Agency Office, and Captain and Mrs. Mason treated them as welcome guests, sparing no endeavours to make them comfortable. The Maharaja, according to Court etiquette, sent them dinner, consisting of various kinds of curry and sweetmeat, and an allowance of two bottles of Ale to each, that being, as he supposed, their daily allowance.

Sur Sagar, as its name denotes, is a Band or lake constructed in the reign of Sur Sing who ruled from 1594 to 1619 by damming up a stream of water, the drainage of the surrounding hills, though from some natural cause or defect in architecture, the water escapes and the lake is always dry. On the bank of the lake is an extensive garden full of splendid trees, surrounded by a high brick wall with a tower at each angle. In this garden is the palace, a large massive

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building chiefly of marble; it has three storeys, the lowest or the ground storey contains a large room, half divided into two arches; it opens out to a flight of steps that lead into the garden. The second storey contains much greater accommodation and consists of six or seven good sized rooms and a spacious verandah, an immense height from the ground, from which there is a fine view of the fort and the surrounding country and villages. A long flight of steps from the outside leads on to the top of the house where an additional room was built by a former Political Agent with a thatched roof. From the top of the house the prospect is magnificient.

Mr. Prichard, the author of the mutinies in Rajputana, whose wife had preceded him with the first party left Ajmer for Jodhpur in the middle of July. He was sent by the General under the care of a dependent of the Jodhpur Vakil who was responsible for his safe arrival at the capital, and rode a camel with an escort of five men, the principal of whom an old man, named Achal Sing, was at once his companion, guide and guard. In his halts at Merta and Pipar, he was kindly received and provided with every requisite by the Hakim and Kotwal of the former and headmen of the latter place.

"On reaching Jodhpur," he says in the history, "after wandering beggar-like hand to mouth way in which I had been roughing it, I found myself, something like the victim of magician's wiles in the Arabian Nights, suddenly transformed into a gentleman again,

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and surrounded as if by the touch of fairy's wand with all the pleasing concomitants of civilized life. Our kind hosts, Captain and Mrs. Monck Mason, had given not only a house but a comfortable home to the ladies and children who found refuge under their hospitable roof, and extended the same kindness to every wretched husband, who found his way across the desert to the oasis of comfort, quiet and luxury—the Political Agency—on a visit to his family."

Again he says :—" While great and stirring events were taking place in other parts of India, our days at Jodhpur passed quietly away; it was a period, however, full of anxiety, for, as the Agency had become the refuge and asylum for so many families, the consequence of any untoward political event would be the more deplorable. The king (Maharaja) was staunch in his alliance, he had no regular army anywhere near the capital; the troops he had, were engaged mostly in British territory, and what with want of discipline and wretched equipment were pretty well powerless for good and evil alike. The greatest cause of disquietude was, however, in the proximity of the Jodhpur Legion, a portion of which was at Nasirabad and the remainder and head quarters at a place called Eranpura, about eighty miles from Jodhpur.

A company of infantry and a detachment of cavalry from the Legion were stationed at the capital as a guard or escort for the Political Agent. When the mutiny at Nasirabad took place, a part of the Legion supposed to be faithful, was immediately ordered to march to the scene of disorder. Most providentially

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Captain Mason determined to send the detachment at the Agency to headquarters for restoring peace or acting against the rebels, trusting to the Maharaja for the means of protection and escort and to the great credit of the prince, the Raj Sipahis and Sawars, though weak and undisciplined they were, performed these duties to the end with utmost fidelity and assiduity. It was afterwards learnt that the detachment of the Legion marched through the streets of Jodhpur, calling upon the astonished citizens—"to rise in rebellion against their ruler as the British Government was no more."

In consequence of the disturbed state of the country, great difficulty was experienced in securing the safe transit of mails and by degrees one road after another became stopped.

The road between Calcutta and the Panjab was interrupted by the State of Delhi, the Meerut and other districts of North-Western Provinces; the main road between the Panjab and Bombay which ran through Agra, Indore and Mau, became unsafe in consequence of the bands of rebels hovering about the country between Mau and Agra, and the line from Ajmer and Nasirabad, owing to the disturbances at Nimach and in Central India, took the direction of Pali, Eranpura and Disa, a branch was led to Mount Abu. Communication was kept up between Ajmer and Agra pretty regularly as the road lay through Kishangarh, Jaipur and Bharatpur States, which helped it to the best of their powers, and as it was the most direct route to Karachi, which in consequence of its being a landing place for European troops, was growing in importance.

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Mr. Frere, the Commissioner of Sindh, conceived the idea of establishing a post line across the desert between Haidarabad and Jodhpur to be extended easily, to Ajmer and soon to Agra. Mr. Frere's views were ably carried out by Lieutenant Tyrwhit, Deputy Collector of Mirpur, and he was put in the charge of the whole line between Haidrabad and Malwar frontier. The Jodhpur authorities eagerly co-operated with Mr. Frere and the plan was extended beyond the limit originally designed by a line of camel dâks being established between Jodhpur and Bhawalpur by which means communication was kept up with the Punjab, and a line of road opened that was not likely to be effected by the movements of the rebels who would hardly penetrate so far into the desert. Another mounted post was established between Jodhpur and Ajmer, and the former place suddenly became the centre of communication between the most important places in India.

These lines were begun in May, and their several branches were completed at the end of June. Mr. C. Hewit who took his abode near the Agency, was the Deputy Superintendent, and inspected all the lines, and as the work in the office became very heavy, Mr. Prichard after his arrival voluntarily acted as postmaster and conducted the business very creditably to the end.

The Jodhpur lines, as they may be called, because, they all centred there were enormously expensive; three camels were maintained at each post, two for work and one spare for expresses and to be serviceable on accidents and each camel was paid Rs. 16 per mensem.

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But the money was usefully spent as it was most important to keep up the communication. Whatever roads through North and Central India were stopped, the Jodhpur lines were always open and in working order.

At one time despatches from Calcutta to Meerath were to be sent *via* Bombay to Jodhpur and thence *via* Bhawalpur and Lahore to Meerath; and for a very long time the only communication with the army before Delhi was by this round-about route.

These lines were kept in full working order at a very heavy expense during all the period of disturbance until order was restored and communication opened between all important stations after the fall of Delhi.

On a night, at the end of July, or beginning of August, Jodhpur was visited by a most tremendous storm. The thunder pealed incessantly, the wind howled, and the rain fell in perfect torrents. Suddenly, when the rage of elements was highest, an explosion took place and was soon followed by another, it seemed as if the earth and sky had split asunder. At about the most elevated part of the fort there was a temple, a place of great sanctity, it was built on a wall, and its spire shot up towards the sky—a tempting bait for the lightning. This had been struck and the building shattered, but the destructive element did not stop here. It ran down the wall, and exploded an immense subterranean store magazine of powder, of which there were one or two in the fort. The whole thing, of course, blew up in a second with a tremendous report, the wall was thrown down, large pieces of rock on

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which it was built, of immense size, hurled through the air to a distance of two miles; houses were crushed and blown up too, for, the neighbourhood of the first wall was pretty thickly populated, a great number of houses having been built resting it. More than two hundred men were killed and the number of maimed and wounded was, of course, immense. The Maharaja gave away large sums of money for the relief of the widows, orphans, and disabled men, and urged on the work of clearance energetically. He sent word to the political Agent that this was his share of misfortune in common with other chiefs whose States were subjected to the calamities of rebellion, and from which his State had hitherto escaped.

The disaffected people took advantage of it to prove their assertion that it was the anger of God to visit the head of the impious sovereign who remained true and faithful to the treaties made with the unbelievers (the English). The Maharaja, however, paid no heed to the malicious fancies but immediately began imquiring into the theory of lightning conductor, with a view to one getting erected for future security.

Intimation of the mutiny of Jodhpur Legion was received though letters, one from the Maharaja's Vakil at Erinpura and another from Lieutenant Conoly, and in the evening, Captain Mason, visiting the Maharaja and his ministers, found them in a state of deepest dejection. Particulars of the revolt and outrages of the several detachments of the Legion committed at Abu, Erinpura and Nasirabad, have been already

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related, and it remains now to narrate what ocurred on its advent into the Jodhpur territory.

The mutineers, after leaving Conoly, pushed on to Delhi and the first object of their movement was to possess themselves of Ajmer in the way. Their line of march from the very outskirt of Erinpura to the vicinity of Byawar in Ajmer district lay wholely through the Jodhpur country, and in the midway they had to pass by Awa, Khushal Singh, the Thakur of which had been long in rebellion against his lord and master, the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

The wonted defiance with which the Thakurs of Marwar looked upon the State authority, was aggravated in Kushal Singh's case by his grievance against an interference made in the old custom that no subject of an estate can leave his birth place and settle in another without the permission of its master, the Thakur. Sir Henry Lawrence, while Resident in Rajputana, had made it a special part of his policy to protect the poor against the oppression of the powerful, and directed the several political agents to break this barbarous custom as the opportunity afforded. Two Banias of Awa being involved in debt, determined on shifting their quarters and going to a neighbouring estate started their business, Kushal Singh's demand for their return was ineffectual in virtue of the Government order, and he applied the Maharaja for support in resenting the transgression of the old established custom. The Maharaja acted perfectly in accordance with the views of the pol' ical officers, and far from supporting the Thakur, he put a particular stress upon

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the enforcement of the new rule. Similar other circumstances made the breach wider, and the Thakur at last discontinued to pay homage and stopped payment of the tribute due from him. He was thus collecting arms, men and store in the fort when the rebels reached his capital. The Maharaja, with an ardent feeling for the cause of the British Government, from the time he had learnt that the mutineers intended marching through Marwar, made every exertion to check their progress, and positively declared that they could never get safe out of his dominions. An alliance between the Thakur and the mutineers was a natural effect of such a state of affairs, and both parties were inclined to avail themselves of each other's strength and position.

A man of long and proud lineage, of great repute throughout the country, the Thakur was naturally unwilling to make an alliance with the rebels, but revenge is sweet, and he, probably the second man in importance in Marwar, believing that his wrongs cried for vengeance, persuaded himself that all means were fair in war. Still, with the object of shifting his responsibility as aggressor, he sent his Vakil to the Political Agent to say that if he were pardoned for his past offences, he would not only return to his allegiance to Jodhpur ruler and the British Government and shut his gates against the mutineers, but also, if co-operated by the troops of both or either of them, oppose the rebels and break their strength. But if this his offer were rejected, he would be compelled to make a

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common cause with them and was not to blame for what he does more.

Captain Mason was again, as incapable to do anything as he had been in the case of Abbas Ali. As the complaints of the Thakur were against the Maharaja who was inflexible in his resolution not to show any mercy to the Thakur before he made an unconditional surrender and paid the arrears of his tribute, the Political Agent could not hold out any hope to the Thakur's Vakil, and he told him plainly that he could not treat with the Thakur so long as he was in rebellion.

The Vakil's mission thus ended in failure, and the negotiations between the Thakur and the mutinous Legion were thereby confirmed. With great anxiety to annihilate or at least to stop the rebels, the Maharaja ordered an army to advance upon Awa to punish the Thakur and his allies and to ensure that his wishes might be carried out with all possible means, he placed at the head of the army his most trustworthy and bravest general, Thakur Anar Singh, whom Captain Mason knew from a long time and held a high opinion of his character as a gallant officer, Anar Singh was very dear to and relied upon by the Maharaja, because, he came with him from Gujrat at the time of his ascending the throne and served him creditably for a long time, but the very facts of his being high in the estimation of his master, and at the same time a foreigner, made the other officers and the people look upon him with jealousy and hatred. Lieutenant Heathcote, Deputy

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Assistant Quarter-Master General of the Rajputana Field Force, wus sent by General Lawrence from Nasirabad to inspire courage and fortitude by his presence in the undisciplined Jodhpur Forces which being thus organized, marched from the capital and intrenched themselves at Pali, about thirty miles opposite to Awa.

The Thakur and the mutineers also moved toward Pali and encamped at a short distance from it. Several days passed without any decisive step being taken from either side. The delay was unaccountable and producing an evil effect that the Jodhpur troops who could not advance were half-beaten. General Lawrence, as officer responsible for the security of the whole province, was especially anxious; at last he grew impatient and wrote a very severe letter to the Maharaja in which he upbraided the prince with luke-warmness in his alliance and taunted the army with their cowardice for not having effected anything, saying "they were dancing attendance on the rebels like orderlies."

A copy of the letter was sent to Anar Singh, whose feelings were stung and who determined not to survive the disgrace, should he be unable to accomplish the destruction of the enemy.

He left his strong position and encamped in close proximity to the rebels. Here, early in the morning of the 8th September, his camp was surprised and thrown into confusion by a sudden advance of the enemy, and the troops gave way without even a show of resistance. Anar Sing and a few of his chosen adherents, took up

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their post with the guns, sold their lives dearly, and were cut down to pieces. All the guns, the camp equipage and military store, fell into the hands of the enemy. Lieutenant Heathcote, after using every effort to induce the men to stand, was compelled to mount his horse and to gallop off from the field.

The Maharaja was deeply distressed at the defeat of his troops and death of his favourite General. The Political Agent visited him two days subsequently; he could not allude to the loss without shedding tears and had eaten nothing since the disastrous intelligence was brought to him.

General Lawrence was likewise aggrieved to learn the event, and though the forces at his disposal were scarcely enough to maintain order at the several stations, he rightly thought that if no prompt measures were taken to check the rebels, the effect of the defeat on the country would be very injurious. With this view he hastened from Byawar to take the field in person, with a small force, consisting of 150 men of Her Majesty's 83rd, three horse artillery guns, weakly manned, a portion of the Mairwara battalion, and the 1st Bombay Lancers, A large body of the Maharaja's troops was ordered to co-operate with him, but as their comrades had so recently failed in duty, no help was expected from them.

The rebels, after their victory over the Raj troops, had fallen back on Awa, the fortification of which they proceeded to strengthen. Awa is surrounded by high walls and being supplied with guns, it was defensible

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against the small force that the General was marching against it.

Captain Mason resolved to go out to the camp and encourage the Raj troops and their officers by his presence ; but the Maharaja was very averse to his proposal. He had a strong presentiment that some great disaster would ensue if the Political Agent left the capital and made such strenuous and repeated exertions to dissuade him from the expedition that Captain Mason once changed his mind, but at last determined on going and went.

General Lawrence arrived before Awa on the 18th September, and proceeded at once to reconnoiter the place. The enemy brought a strong fire to bear upon him from every gun on their walls. It was at this juncture that Captain Mason reached the spot, and while trying to find General Lawrence whom he had to see and consult with on some important points, he was laid prostrate with a bullet shot from behind and was immediately cut with sword. He was decoyed, it is said, by the enemy's bugle sound—similar to that of the British—and going astray, lost his life. His head was severed from body and hung by the mutineers on the gate of the Awa fort as illustrative of their glory.

General Lawrence at the same time being unsucessful in his attempt to carry Awa by assault, was compelled to fall back on Chulawas, three and a half miles distant, hoping to beat the enemy on their coming to attack him, but they did not do so, though he remained there for three days. Unable with his actual force to

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take the place and having, to a certain extent, impressed the peope of the country through which he marched Lawrence, fell back leisurely on Ajmer and Nasirabad.

The tidings of the painful events reached Jodhpur on the 19th to the deepest grief of the Mahajara, Mrs. Mason and all the Europeans there, and the Maharaja sent message to Mrs. Mason to say that he would never rest till the head of the Awa chief was suspended over the gate of his fort.

Soon after the retreat of the British force a quarrel arose between the Thakur and the mutineers; but instead of coming to blows, they sensibly agreed to separate. The mutineers marching along their way onward to Delhi, left the Thakur to his fate and were totally defeated by General Gerrard at Narnoul on the 16th October; and Khushal Sing, along with the Thakurs of Gular, Asop, and other places, turning out outlaw (Barothia), continued to plunder the country.

On hearing the news in October that the Kota troops had mutinied and murdered Major Burton, his sons and Medical Officers, Maharaja Takht Sing was especially uneasy and made no secret any longer of his fears that his position was as insecure as that of the Europeans. On a former occasion he had assured the Officers that they might safely trust the men he had given for the protection of the Agency, but after this catastrophe he said he did not know whom to trust; and on an allusion to the Kota tragedy, he remarked that it would be hard to treat the Raoji as guilty of complicity, when he was helpless in the hands of the

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insurgents, plainly implying thereform that a similar scene might be enacted at Jodhpur, and he all the time being as innocent and powerless as his brother prince, the Raoji of Kota was.

The European refugees were now anxious to retire; as though order had been comparatively restored in the British provinces after the fall of Delhi, yet, from the extended courage and influence of the Awa Thakur, Jodhpur was more unsafe to live in than before. Their duties and connections required their going to different quarters, such as Ajmer, Byawar, Nimach, Abu, and Disa, but it was difficult to determine to what direction they should proceed. The eastern part of Marwar was infested by the bands of the outlaw Thakurs, while in the western, stretched an almost an interminable waste-part of the desolate tract of Jaisalmer and Bikaner, and the wide range of the desert country that separated Marwar from Sindh and ended in the Runn of Kach, southward.

It was decided at last to go to Sindh, Mr. Frere, the Commissioner of which commissioned Lieutenant Tyrwhitt to march up across the desert to Jodhpur with a strong escort of the Sindh police and Beluchis, and to bring away the party to Haidarabad, whence transit to Karachi and Bombay was easy.

The Maharaja, who was not sorry to see them depart, not because he lacked in kindness and good feelings, but because, his honor being pledged for their safety and his own position being precarious, he felt considerable anxiety and feared the occurrence of any adverse

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accident, lent then every assistance in his power. He supplied all the ladies with Shagrams and bullocks, the officers with camels, and Captain Denyss with the elephant, attached to the Agency and also provided them with a large escort, though scarcely serviceable for any duty.

The party consisted of Mrs. Mason with 3 children ; Captain Denyss, his wife, 3 children and sister ; Mrs. Caunter and 2 children ; Mr. and Mrs. Prichard and 1 child ; Dr. Young, Captain Hardcastle, and Lieutenant Bannerman, making altogether nineteen. They started on the 30th October, reached Balmer on the 4th November, whence Dr. Young went directly to Abu ; all others continued their journey onward and arrived safely at Haidarabad on the 30th November 1857.

The detachments of the army of retribution, which arrived in January, 1858, enabled General Lawrence to throw off the quiescent attitude which he had till then deemed it politic to assume.

A column, consisting of some companies of Her Majesty's 83rd, the 10th Bombay Native Infantry, the 1st and 2nd Cavalry, the 2nd Sindh horse and 14 guns of different calibre, altogether numbering 1,800, of whom 700 were cavalry under the command of Colonel Holmes of the 12th Bombay Native Infantry, besieged Awa on the 19th January. At the end of 5 days a practicable breach had been made and the assault was ordered for the following morning. The garrison, perfectly aware of what was going on, resolved not to await it and taking advantage of a fearful storm that raged in the night,

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evacuated the place without an attempt to oppose. Pickets were placed on every direction to prevent the escape of the fugitives, and though an intense darkness and fury of the storm covered the retreat, 18 were killed and 9 taken prisoners by a picket of the 1st Lancers at the time of escape, and 124 more prisoners were brought by the cavalry from the neighbouring villages on the next morning. Twenty-four of these prisoners, being the mutineers of the Jodhpur Legion, were shot on the spot after summary trials, while others, who were the adherents of the Awa Thakur, were made over to Major Morrison, the Political Agent, to be dealt with by the Jodhpur Darbar. Six brass and seven iron guns, eighty-four maunds of gunpowder, and 3,000 rounds of small arms' ammunition were taken possession of and sent to Nasirabad. The strength of the fortifications of Awa fully justified the determination of General Lawrence regarding it, made in last September. It had a double line of defences, the inner of strong masonry, the outer of earthwork, both being loop-holed. The palace and the masonry fortifications were blown up and destroyed so as effectually to prevent the stronghold becoming a nuckleus of rebellion for the future.

Thakur Khushal Singh of Awa surrendered in 1860, and after being tried by a Court Martial, held at Nasirabad, was acquitted of his offence against the British Government, but he remained an exile from Awa which was restored after many years.

Maharaja Takht Sing was thoroughly loyal and faithful to the British Government, and after the

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return of peace and tranquility his services were acknowedged, and he was invested with the insignia of the Grand Commander of the Star of India.

SECTION II.

Bikaner.

The only one of all the princes of Rajputana who, with a deep sympathy with the sufferers from mutiny and sincere gratitude to the Government for its successive acts of kindness left his capital and porceeded to the border of his State to rescue the unfortunate victims and restore order in the adjoining British districts, was Maharaja Sardar Sing, of Bikaner. Confident of the security of his own territory which being a sandy desert, was never invaded by any adventurer not even by the haughty Marahtas who overran greater part of Rajputana in the last century and was not in all probability to be traversed by the mutineers whose point of attraction was Delhi in the opposite direction, he seized the opportunity to render what best services he could do to the paramount power.

Of the two regiments stationed at Hansi, the 4th Cavalry rose on the 15th May and went away to join the rebel army without doing any harm; but the Hariana Battalion that revolted on the 29th, ravaged the town, murdered all the Christians whom they could find and then marched to Delhi. Mohamad Azim Beg, a Shahzada of the Delhi family, was employed at Hissar as Assistant Patrol of Customs. Proclaiming the king's authority, he began to rule as his representative, and

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as the Sipahis of the Customs line and Chaprasis of the irrigation canal followed him, he committed great violence and bloodshed. Four hundred Sawars of the Jhajar and Dadri Nawabs that used to serve in the district on civil duties, proved more mischie vous than the infantry regiment had been. In the massacre of Christians, plundering the treasury, breaking open the jail and all other outrages, they took prominent part. This, along with other offences, brought on the result that both the States were confiscated, Abdurrahman Khan, the Nawab of Jhajar, was hanged, and Bahadur Jang Khan, of Dadri, was exiled to Ludhiana. Detachments of the forces at Hansi garrisoned Sirsa and rising simultaneously with their main body, committed the same atrocitris at that station as their brethi en had done at others.

Maharaja Sardar Sing, finding that these districts stretched along the boundary of his State for a distance longer than 150 miles, and his own presence alone could not be useful to all the three places, went himself to Bahadran adjacent to Sirsa and Hissar and sent Dr. Coleridge in his service to Rajgarh opposite to Hansi. Christian fugitives from all these places, including the renowned Skinner family of Hansi, were taken under protection and comfortably brought to Bikaner where they reached on the 15th June and lived as honourable guests of the Maharaja throughout the troublesome time.

The Maharaja placed at the disposal of the British Officers a strong body of his troops that served admirably

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under General Van Courtlands in crushing the rebellion and restoring peace and order.

In January 1859, when the rebels under Tantia Topi, Rao Sahib and Firoz Shah, were defeated at Sikar by Colonel Holmes on the 21st, a party of six hundred of them fled to Bikaner and solicited the Maharaja to intercede to the British on their behalf. The Government were well pleased, on the representation of the Maharaja, to be saved the trouble of hunting them down, ordered them to be sent home, only stipulating that any, who might thereafter be convicted of murder, should be brought up, if required, for execution.

Good deeds of the Bikaner Maharaja can be described in no better terms than the wording of the following Sanad with which the Government has acknowledged them in granting to him the pargana of Tibi, Sirsa district, consisting of 41 villages:—

"Whereas it appears from a report of the Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana, that, during the rebellion, Maharaja Sardar Sing Bahadur of Bikaner, with a feeling of loyalty and devotion to the British Government, came out in person, protected lives of certain Europeans, and rendered other good services to the Government, and whereas these circumstances being highly satisfactory to the Government, the said Maharaja obtained thanks and a Khilat of distinction; the Government is now pleased to confer on him in perpetuity the villages specified in a separate schedule, situated in the district of Sirsa, yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 14,291, and which are hereby incor-

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porated with his former territory, subject to the same conditions as are observed with respect to the latter; the grant will take effect from 1st May 1861. *11th April* 1861.

SECTION III.

Jaisalmar.

Jaisalmar, a dreary desert throughout, having an area larger than that of Jaipur, the richest State, is the poorest State of Rajputana with regard to its revenue and population. Its prince and people have little communication with other States of the country and much less with the distant provinces of the Panjab, the North-West and Central India. In consequence of its seclusion from the busy world, the paucity of its resources and the difficulty of passage, the mutineers had no occasion to enter the State, even *en route* to any other place. The prince, though heartily desirous to serve the British Government, with deep gratitude for the grant he received after the annexation of Sindh, was not in a position to do anything, for, the troops at his disposal never exceeded 1,000, scarcely sufficient for the administration of so extensive a territory. Jaisalmer, thus had no history in connection with the mutiny and but for a little incident, its mention in this book would have been safely omitted.

Among the exhibits produced against the ex-king of Delhi on his trial after the mutiny, is the following order of the king. (Page 334, Appendix C. Volume 5. History of the Indian Mutiny by Kaye and Malleson):—

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"To Ranjit Sing, Chief of Jaisalmer.

"It is clear to our belief that throughout your dominions the name and trace of these ill-omened infidels, the English, must not have remained, if, however, by any chance or possiblity some have escaped till now by keeping hidden and concealed, first slay them, and after that, having made arrangements for the administration of your territory, present yourself at our Court with your whole military following. Considerations and friendliness, a thousand-fold will be bestowed on you, and you will be distinguished by elevation to dignities and places which the compass of your qualifications will not have capacity to contain."

The document does not prove anything beyond that such a paper was found in the king's office and it cannot, by any means, throw any doubt on the Maharawal's probity; yet even this seems to be very improbable that the king may have written to the ruler of Jaisalmer only, since among his records no paper was found addressed to any other of the Rajputana Chiefs more important, more adjacent, and with regard to their former relations with the Mugal dynasty more closely connected with the king.

Along with the above paper (on the same page) is an order to Maharaja Gulab Singh, of Jammu, in which the king acknowledges to have received his petition. It is evident that the Sikhs from whom the State of Jammu has branched off, were the bitterest enemy of the Delhi kings, the ruler of Jammu immediately on the outreak of the mutiny, sent an army with

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Colonel R. Lawrence that fought against the rebels at Delhi and served the Government for a long time afterwards. Who can believe that Maharaja Gulab Singh sent a petition to the King of Delhi ? The Jaisalmer paper is, therefore, as false as that about Jammu.

SECTION IV.

Sirohi.

The State of Sirohi, over which Jodhpur claimed supremacy, was recognized as separate and indepedent State and taken under British protection in 1823. The weakness of the State rendered it necessary for the British Agent to exercise an unusual interference in its internal affairs in order to bring it to a peaceful and prosperous condition. In 1845, the Sirohi State made over some lands on Mount Abu for the establishment of a sanitarium, and from that time the station became the summer residence of the Agent, Governor-General, or virtually the seat of Rajputana Government as he resides there almost throughout the year. This has been very advantageous to the State which has derived various benefits from the contiguity of the provincial Government.

Maharao Sheo Sing was the ruling prince of Sirohi in 1857, and though, at his own request, the State was put under the administration of a Political Superintendent for eight years, from 1854, and the Maharao had no powers, but he evinced most friendly and loyal spirit to the British Government in all the events that occurred in consequence of the mutiny of Jodhpur Legion, at

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Abu and Erinpura, both situated in his territory. The Government of India, in recognition of his good services, reduced the annual tribute due from the State to one-half, though it had been very recently reduced from Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 15,000 owing to the poverty of the State. The Sirohi tribute, therefore, is now Salim Shahi Rs. 7,500, equivalent to Rs. 6,881-4-0 of the British Currency. The fact that it is one of those few States that have been substantially rewarded for their services during the mutiny, speaks much in favour of Sirohi, and though poor in its resources and not very high in rank, raises it above the common level of the loyal States.

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CHAPTER V.

Eastern Rajputana.

SECTION I.

Bharatpur.

Bharatpur is under great obligation to the British Government from the time of succession of Maharaja Balwant Singh in 1826. His father, Baldeo Sing, who ruled only eighteen months, was very anxious that on his death, which being of an advanced age, he expected momentorily, Durjan Sal and Madho Sing, the turbulent sons of his brother, Lachman Sing, were sure to dispute succession with his helpless son then only six years old, and with this view he put Balwant Sing in the lap of Sir David Ochterlony, the Resident imploring his protection. Sir David acknowledged his succession and pledged his word to support him. Only a month after this event, Baldeo Sing died and Durjan Sal forcibly took possession of the State and imprisoned Balwant Sing. The faithful nobles, Faujdar Churaman, Dewan Jawahar Lall and Jani Baij Nath laid complaint on behalf of their captive prince, and General Ochterlony ordered a force to defend him. The order was once countermanded on political grounds by the Governor-General who was, after sometime, obliged by the disturbance caused not only from

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the usurpation of Durjan Sal but also from a quarrel between him and Madho Sing to send a strong army under Lord Combermere and then ensued what is called the second siege of Bharatpur. The fort was stormed and captured on the 18th January 1826, Balwant Sing was placed on the *gaddi* and Durjan Sal being taken prisoner, was sent to Benares where his offsprings still continue to reside. Balwant Sing was henceforth styled Farzand (son) of the Honorable Company, felt himself, throughout his reign of twenty-seven years, highly indebted to the Government for his enjoyment of the sovereignty and kept a most friendly intercourse with the authorities at Agra, then the seat of Provincial Government.

His son, Maharaja Jaswant Sing, was a minor of eight years in 1857, and the State was administered by a Regency Council headed by the Political Agent who were, for sometime Major Morrison, and afterwards Captain Nixon.

Imbibing the idea that the mutiny had originated at the instigation of the Court of Delhi, Honorable Mr. Colvin considered it of great importance to enlist on his side the races that had been antogonists to the Mugal dynasty, viz., the Marahtas and the Jats, and with this view he appealed for help to the Maharajas of Gwalior and Bharatpur as representatives of each nation and nearest to Agra. The response was very favourable. Maharaja Sendhia at once sent to Agra, Captain Burlton's infantry and Captain Alexander's cavalry regiments and a battery of six guns, commanded by

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Captain Pearson; and on the part of Bharatpur, the Regency Council sent an army of all arms under Captain Nixon, till then the Settlement Officer, to serve in the field and a body of 300 horse to Agra to serve under the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor.

The first impulse of Captain Nixon, like that of Major Eden, was to go directly to Delhi and crush the mutineers there with the Bharatpur army, and so promptly did the State act on this occasion that the army on its way reached Mathura on the 15th May, the fourth day from the outbreak at Delhi.

Mathura was in a great danger of being visited by the mutineers; Mr. Clifford, the Joint Magistrate of Gurgaon, whose sister, Miss Clifford, was one of the first victims of the massacre at Delhi, and who himself was subsequently slain by the Mews of Raysina, was at Mathura on his way to Agra; Mr. Ford, the Collector and Magistrate of Gurgaon, Mr. Kitchen, his Head Clerk, and all the Officers of the various departments in the Gurgaon district, and on the road between Delhi and Mathura, numbering thirty-five, followed Clifford as fugitives and were guests of Mr. Thornhill, the Collector and Magistrate of Mathura, who was busily engaged in measures to protect the town and district under his charge.

The opportune arrival, at this juncture, of Captain Nixon with the army at once changed the position. He became the master of the situation and proceeded to develope his plans. As the information received led him to believe that the mutineers were marching

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on Mathura, he resolved to suspend his movement to Delhi and to give them a warm reception on their arrival there. Accordingly, at his suggestion, Mr. Thornhill erected barricades at the principal entrances to the city which, in other respects, was very defensible, enlisted men as guards, and took steps to enable the inhabitants to co-operate with Soldiers.

The Mathura treasury, containing eleven lakhs of rupees, was guarded by a company of the native regiment stationed at Agra; Mr. Thornhill suspecting their fidelity, asked permission to send the money to Agra fort, but his fears being considered groundless, the transmission was postponed to the time when the company was to be relieved by others. On the day after Captain Nixon's arrival, the loyal Mathura Seths informed Mr. Thornhill that the company was bent upon carrying off the treasure and was prevented only by the timely arrival of Captain Nixon, but it was settled. Thornhill, thereupon, again asked permission by sending a special messenger.

During the day information arrived that Merath and Delhi rebels had fortified the latter city and were not coming to Mathura; Captain Nixon, considering that one of the Bharatpur regiments was sufficient to protect Mathura in other emergencies, announced his intention of continuing his march to Delhi and issued orders accordingly. After a delay of many days, the Bharatpur army with exception of one regiment, set out on its march to Delhi, and Mr. Thornhill accompanied it to Kosi on the border of his district.

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In the absence of Mr. Thornhill two companies of the native regiment at Agra arrived at Mathura to relieve the company which was to take the treasure to Agra. Just as the formalities of relieving were gone through and the treasure was placed on the carts, all the three companies, both the relievers and the relieved, suddenly mutinied, shot down one officer, wounded another, plundered the treasury, fired the houses of the English, released the prisoners from gaol and made their way to Delhi.

Mr. Thornhill was at Chhata on the road to Delhi at a short distance from Captain Nixon's camp at Hodal which he hastened to join on hearing the disastrous events from Messrs Colvin and Dashwood, his assistants, the fromer a son of the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Joyce, his head clerk, and other officers who had fled from Mathura.

It was intended to intercept the rebels at Hodal with the Bharatpur troops. A position was marked, and the troops were ordered to take it up, but no sooner the approach of the rebels was known, the Bharatpur troops not only refused to obey but also warned the British officers to depart.

Versions in regard to this event are so varying as to make it difficult to ascertain the truth. Even Messrs Kaye and Melleson, the most creditable authors of the History of Mutiny, have given two different accounts at pages 93, volume 6 and 108, volume 3 :—

1. At the former place, they say that, "the mutinous troops amounted to 5,000, including a formidable cavalry

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and much artillery"; while at the latter it is clearly stated that there were three companies (all about 300 men) who mutinied at Mathura on the 30th May and Captain Nixon and Mr. Thornhill had to encounter them on the 31st May. If the number of five thousand be correct, the force cannot be other than the Nimach Brigade that passed that road longer than a month subsequently after defeating the Agra garrison in the battle of Sassia on the 5th July.

2. At the former place it is said, "As he (Captain Nixon) told his story, the Alwar cavalry were mounting their horses and the artillery were pointing their guns." It is a well known fact that Alwar troops were on their way from Alwar to Agra, long away to the south from Hodal, when they were attacked and dispersed at Achnera about the 5th July by the Nimach Brigade. They could not be at Hodal at a time when they had not, most probably, even started from Alwar.

3. It is also said therein that, "the leaders of the majority, Mr. Harvey (Commissioner of Agra) and Captain Nixon decided at length to make for the army before Delhi." The date of the occurrence, it is almost certain, was 31st May and the first battle before Delhi was fought by General Barnard at Badli-ki-Sarai on the 8th June after which the British troops took hold of the ridge opposite to Delhi. It is evident, therefore, that there was no army before Delhi at that time; besides, it is stated at the latter place that, "the officers escaped with difficulty and after many perils to Bharatpur."

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The Mathura mutineers were, indeed, allowed to pass unchallenged at Hodal, and Captain Nixon and other officers were obliged to leave the camp; but the cause of the failure far from disloyalty to the British Government, was a jealousy between the State Sardars who accompanied Captain Nixon. Some of them were in civil employ and earnestly desired to have military command considered to be a great honour in the State as everywhere; taking an undue advantage of Captain Nixon's favour and in a misguided zeal to show their own loyalty thought it as best opportunity to seize the guns and attack the enemy. Those who were already in charge of the artillery, naturally resisted the step and the struggle that ensued, was mistaken for mutiny, in the excited state of mind when every unusual movement appeared to be a rebellion. This was the reason that coming to know the real state of affairs, Captain Nixon did not punish any one, though he remained Political Agent for many years afterwards.

Another instance of the excited state of mind as well as of the probity of the Bharatpur troops is, that Mr. Thornhill, on his return from Chhata to Mathura, knowing that a Bharatpur Regiment was there, and believing it to be mutinous, did not announce his arrival and stealthily went on to Agra; but on his return from Agra to Mathura only a few days subsequently he found the same Bharatpur regiment very useful to his purpose. Inspecting it in his great anxiety to provide for the safety of the town, "he found it composed of timid villagers possessed of one great virtue of military obedience." He persuaded them to accept him as

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their leader and having done so, they proved excellent instruments for doing what he required. The city was removed from immediate danger, life in it resumed the course it had temporarily abandoned when the soldiers of the regular regiment mutinied, and peace and tranquility ruled for a long time.

The cavalry force that was separately sent to Agra, remained there with Karouli troops under Nawab Saifulla Khan, the Deputy Collector of Bharatpur. They served well under the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor performing escort duties, one of which was to bring Messrs Harvey, Colvin, and Dashwood, with safety to Agra fort. They would have continued to do so, but when the obnoxious order of taking away their guns issued by the Committee formed during Mr. Colvin's sickness, discouraged the Karauli troops they were ordered to depart and they retired obediently.

A struggle arose between the Raj troops and a party of Nimach mutineers at Rudawal in which the latter were beaten and driven away.

Similarly a party of fifty Sawars of the Gwalior Contingent that after their defeat and flight halted in the vicinity of Bharatpur, were attacked and dispersed with a loss of three men to the party.

On the defeat of Tantia Topi on 17th and 19th January 1858, at Murar and Gwalior, respectively, Brigadier Showers sent out a detachment of the 3rd Europeans, and a battery of guns to cover Bharatpur upon which he believed the rebel to be marching. This demonstration was successful, inasmuch as the pre-

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sence of the British force induced Tantia to bend his steps westward toward Sirmathra and thence to Jaipur.

Captain Nixon took Bharatpur troops, headed by Bakhshi Ganga Ram to Deosa, and they effectually co-operated with the Britrish troops under Brigadier Showers in the action against combined rebel forces of Tantia Topi, Rao Sahib, and Firoz Shah on the 16th January 1859. The rebels being surprised and defeated with a loss of 300 men, took flight to Bairath.

The Agent, Governor-General, in his mutiny report writes that, " though the Darbar had scarcely a soldier on whom reliance could be placed, and could, with difficulty, enforce obedience at home, no outrages have been committed in the districts, nor has the name of any Jat Sardar been implicated in any way in the insurrection against British rule."

Maharaja Jaswant Sing, on coming to mature age, proved a wise and prudent ruler; he was created a grand Commander of the Order of Star of India, and his salute for his personal merits was raised from 17 to 19 guns.

SECTION II.

Alwar.

The Alwar State is composed of three principal parts, of which two were acquired in the latter parts of the eighteenth century, and the third in the beginning of the nineteenth. Rao Partap Sing, possessing uncom-

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mon genius, foresight, and boldness, contrived a quarrel between Jaipur and Bharatpur, after the famous battle (in 1768) of Manwda, which was not less disastrous to victorious Madho Sing than to retiring Jawahar Sing, took advantage of the weakness of both by seizing the south-western part from the former and the eastern from the latter, and thus founded the new principality.

His successor, Bakhtawar Sing, rendered valuable service to the British Government in the battle of Laswari, obtained the grant of the northern part from Lord Lake and consolidated the State.

The third in succession was Maha Rao Raja Bene Sing, in whose reign the mutiny broke out, but he was suffering from paralysis and survived the outbreak only about three months. There was no Political Agent at the Alwar Court and the Maharaja was in the last stage of his life, yet he found time and opportunity to prove his fidelity to the Government before his death.

In compliance with proclamation issued by General Lawrence, he sent his minister, Munshi Ammu Jan, with troops to Firozpur and Punahana to coerce the Mews who had revolted and committed ravages in the district; and no sooner he learnt that Honorable Mr. Colvin needed help at Agra, he sent a select body of 800 infantry, 400 cavalry and 4 guns under Chimanji, the Commander-in-Chief of the Alwar forces. The cavalry consisted almost of the Maharaja's Khas Chouki or body guard.

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This force confronted at Achnera with the mutinous Nimach Brigade on its march to Delhi after the battle of Sassia on the 5th July and was totally defeated and dispersed. The Rajputs, mostly of Lawa, stood faithful to their duty, and 55 persons, of whom ten were Sardars, were killed on the spot; and Meda Chela, a haughty man, on being asked by the rebels whether he belonged to Din or Bedin (religion or infidelity) plainly told them that he knew nothing of their question, but he was a servant of Maharaja Bene Sing sent by him to the Lord Sahib at Agra, and was bound to do what the latter would order. Upon this not only was he cut to pieces but also at the instigation of his enemies in the camp was very ignominiously treated by the rebels. A whole battalion, named the Bakhtawar Paltan, composed chiefly of Musalmans, were disarmed and taken prisoners to Delhi. Those who fled directly to Alwar, were considered as faithful, though defeated servants of the State, but those who came from Delhi after its fall, were held as disloyal insurgents believed to have joined the mutineers voluntarily. This distinction was not incorrect as a Musalman officer of the Alwar artillery took an active part with the mutineers at Delhi under Bakht Khan, the notorious Subedar of the Bareli Brigade and the conscience of the Commander made him so ashamed of his conduct that he never returned to Alwar. Bene Sing was at his death-bed when the melancholy intelligence of the disaster reached him; he had lost his power of speech and in this state of partial sensibility, communicated in writing what orders it was

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necessary to pass. It is impossible to know what he understood from the report of the sad event made to him, but the order he wrote on hearing it was to get out from the fort treasury and send to the camp Rs. 1,00,000.

He died shortly after; but Ammujan, who was obliged to return to Alwar, leaving Firozpur to its fate, continued to serve to Government with zeal and fidelity. He being a native of Delhi and an influential one, many of the mutineers came to Alwar for protection, and he arrested and sent them to the nearest British authorities.

About forty troopers of the Jodhpur Legion defeated at Narnoul on the 16th November, tired of the fatigue of a long flight, halted to cook their food and give a little rest to their animals in a jungle close to Tapukra. Their presence being reported to the officers of the place, Cavalry Risalas, about 200 strong fresh, from their camp, marched to assault and arrest the mutineers. The wearied troopers at first besought their invaders to allow them a short time to take their meals and depart, but finding their entreaties quite ineffectual, they fell in, took hold of their arms and discharged a single volley that threw the Alwar troops in confusion. Many of them quitted the field and fled for safety, and others were unwillingly taken by their frightened and ungovernable horses. The mutineers had an amusement in seizing the person of their commander and keeping him under custody until they finished their meal and left the place. This was one of the numerous instances in which the troops of the Native State

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could not successfully oppose the disciplined rebellious army, and it was only the British valour and power that ultimately brought on their destruction.

It is not amiss to give here a short sketch of the extraordinary events that occurred at Alwar while there was the disturbance in India. Maharaja Bene Sing, in order to improve the administration of his State, had employed officers from the British territories, the principal of whom were Munshi Ammujan and Mirza Isfundyar Beg, latterly bitter enemies to each other. Ammujan had two brothers, Fazl and Inamulla Khan, and a large number of adherents all expert in the art of money making. The Mirza's party was limited, but he himself, though honest, was a cunning and designing man. Intrigues continued between them, but Maharaja Bene Sing was bold and vigilant enough to keep them under control and to use their rivalry to his own purpose. Maharaja Sheodan Sing, his son, a youth of fourteen years, was not, however, competent to check such disquieting elements and to resist temptation dangerous to early life. With constant association with Musalman youngsters, the creatures of Ammujan, he was addicted to all kinds of vices and with all delicacies of Delhi and Lakhnow in his manners, he became a model of worst pervertion (not conversion, because without any of its virtues) to Islam. While the prince thus went astray, and Ammujan and brothers ruled high in the State, the Mirza quietly sitting in a corner, devised a scheme that ended in the sudden downfall of his antogonists. He persuaded the Rajputs to rise in the cause of their religion

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and nationality and prepared the authorities to sympathize with them by secret communication on the evils that were going on. Late on a night, in August 1858, storm burst; the Rajputs under Thakur Lakhdhir Sing assaulted Ammujan's house; a son of Fazl and Ammujan's chobdar were killed, and the three brothers fled for life and concealed themselves in the neighbouring houses. The Maharaja was highly incensed at this ignominious treatment dealt out to his favourites, but almost all the servants of the State were combined in the action he was powerless to do anything. It was settled at last that Ammujan, with all his followers, should be allowed to go to Delhi, and thus they were turned out of the Alwar borders under the guarantee of the Lawa Thakurs. Captain Nixon, the nearest Officer, came from Bharatpur and assumed the State adminstration, and soon after Captain Impey was appointed as separate Political Agent for Alwar. On the discovery of the fact that Ammujan and Fazl continued to hatch mischief in connection with Alwar affairs, they were sent to Merath and Banaras respectively and were kept there under surviellance.

The rebels under Tantia Topi, who were attacked on the 16th January 1859, at Deosa, by Brigadier Showers and Captain Nixon, were expected to enter the Alwar territory; Captain Impey intended to oppose them with Alwar troops, and preparations were accordingly made. Mrs. Impey retired to Maharaja's palace in the town, Mr. Framji and others of the Agency establishment, were sent to Dewan Balmukand's Kacheri and Captain Impey was on the point of starting when the informa-

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tion reached that defeated at Deosa, the rebels took a different route and passing by Partapgarh, went to Bairath and onward in the Jaipur territory. The proposal was then given up and all returned to their respective places.

Lord Canning, in his Agra Darbar, acknowledged the merits of Bene Sing, and while advising Maharaja Sheodan Sing to walk on his father's footsteps, promised to return his lost guns if found, but it seems that they were neither found nor returned.

The services of Rajputs murdered at Achnera by the rebels were rewarded with the grant of khilats to their survivors.

SECTION III.

Karouli.

It has been briefly noticed in a previous chapter how the Karouli State escaped annexation on the principal of lapse. Mahraja Narsing Pal, who was a minor at the time of his succession in 1848, died on the 10th July 1852, having adopted the day before his death a distant kinsman, named Bharat Pal, of immature age. Colonel Low, the Agent, Governor-General of Rajputana, at once pronounced his opinion that the adoption ought immediately be recognised.

The Governor-General hesitated; it appeared to him that Karouli might rightly be declared to have lapsed. But the Council was divided. The Agent in Rajputana had already declared unequivocally for

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adoption, and Sir Frederick Currie, an experienced officer, supporting his views, wrote a minute an admirable State paper—accurate in its facts, clear in its logic, and unexceptional in its political morality. Comparing the question of Karouli with that of Satara which had been decided by the sanction and approval of the Home Government, he clearly pointed out the difference that Satara, though great and widely known, was comparatively a new State while Karouli, though small, was one of those States that flourish from long centuries, have ancestral dignity, respected throughout India and possess treaty rights not less valid than those of any territorial prince. The question had to be referred to the Home Government for their final decision.

The Court of Directors had generally a great faith in the wisdom of Lord Dalhousie, and were therefore, eager to support his policy, but in this case they found the proposal to be a beginning of the extinction of the ancient houses of Rajputana and said:—

"It appears to us that there is a marked distinction in fact between the cases of Karouli and Satara which is not sufficiently adverted to in the minute of the Governor-General. The Satara State was one of recent origin, derived altogether from the creation and gift of the British Government, whilst Karouli is one of the oldest of the Rajput States, which has been under the rule of its native princes from a period long anterior to the British power in India. It stands to us only in the relation of protected ally, and probably there is no part of India into which it is less desirable,

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except upon the strongest grounds, to subsitute our Government for that of the native rulers. In our opinion, such grounds do not exist in the present case, and we have, therefore, determined to sanction the succession of Bharat Pal."

But before the arrival of the despatch, expressing these just sentiments and weighty opinions, the chance of Bharat Pal's succession had passed away.

Whilst the correspondence on the subject was in progress between India and England, another claimant, a nearer kinsman of the late prince and of more pronounced personal character with mature age, stood forward to assert his right in a most demonstrative manner. The ladies of the royal family, the chiefs, and the people supported his claims, and the rulers of the neighbouring States of Bharatpur, Dholpur, Alwar, and Jaipur, gave their votes in his favour. An investigation, moreover, proved that conditions of law and usage had not been fulfilled in Bharat Pal's adoption, and therefore Sir Henry Lawrence, who succeeded General Low, as Agent, Governor-General, recognized the validity of his claims. This was Madan Pal whose succession to the sovereignty was approved by Lord Dalhousie at the recommendation of Sir Henry Lawrence, and he was thus installed as the Maharaja of Karouli.

The State at this time was in debt to the British Government. The debt was originally incurred by a Maharaja of Karouli to the State of Bharatpur which was indebted to the British Government. In arranging for the liquidation of the Bharatpur debts,

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the Government gave credit for the amount due from Karouli and took upon itself to recover it from that State. In 1844, the Karouli debt amounted to Rs. 1,54,312.

Maharaja Madan Pal, on his accession, was warned that if he failed in the annual payment of the debt, the Government would take possession of one or more of his districts until the whole debt due from his State should be liquidated. He found to his great anxiety that not only was he unable to comply with this condition but that the debt became larger with each succeeding year. Under such circumstances, when the mutiny broke out in 1857, another man in his position would have desired the death of his creditor and overlord the British Government, for, that death alone would apparently wipe out his obligation but Maharaja Madan Pal was too wise and far-seeing to commit himself to such a folly.

He exerted himself heart and soul to further the interests represented in Rajputana by General George Lawrence, and in response to the appeal made by Honorable Mr. Colvin to the princes of Eastern Rajputana, he sent a body of six hundred brave Jadon Machlockmen under Nawab Saifulla Khan, an officer of high character, to serve the Government at Agra. On the approach of Nimach mutinous brigade, the Karouli troops were ordered to the neighbourhood of Shahganj four miles on the road to Fatehpur Sikri, and they took the post on the 2nd July. On the following day, Mr. Colvin happening to be unwell, charge of the administration was taken by a Committee composed of Mr.

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Reade, Brigadier Polwhele, and Major Macleod. Among the measures the Council took for the defence of the station on the 4th July, it was proposed that the two guns that were with the levies under Saifulla Khan, should be removed to the magazine with a suspicion on the honesty of the troops. This measure brought on a crisis, that whilst it materially diminished the number of fighting men at the disposal of the Government, disheartened the troops sent by a loyal and faithful ally. When Lieutenant Henderson, who acted as Political officer with the foreign troops, reached the Karouli camp and demanded the delivery of the guns, great excitement was manifested, yet the Karouli men made no opposition but obediently made over the guns, and on the next day, when ordered to leave Shahganj, and start at once for Karouli, they peacefully retired. The hardy Jadons of Karouli have been always famous for their undaunted gallantry and staunch fidelity; had they been allowed to take part in the action, the battle of Sasia in all probability would not have been lost; the mistake of distrusting them was fully acknowledged by the high authorities.

When the mutinous Kota troops, after murdering Major Burton and four other Englishmen, imprisoned in his palace their master, the Maharao, Maharaja Madan Pall, at the request of the latter, sent his troops to Kota where they rescued the Maharao from the oppression of troops, drove the rebels from the fort and finally co-operated with General Roberts in defeating the insurgents. This his action against the

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common enemies was not less creditable for his loyalty to the British Government than his sympathy with his relative, the Maharao of Kota.

The historian's remark on the noble conduct of the ruler of Karouli is:—"There could not have been a greater justification of the conduct of the Court of Directors in refusing to allow the Government of India to treat Karouli as lapse than was given by Maharaja Madan Pal within four years of his recognition as chief of Karouli."

The Maharaja for his unfeigned loyalty throughout the troublous time, was thanked by the Government of India and invested with a Khilat of honour; the whole of his debt amounting to Rs. 1,17,000 was at once remitted, and his salute was raised from 15 to 17 guns. He was, moreover, created a Grand Commander of the Order of Star of India.

SECTION IV.

Dholepur.

Of all the States of Rajputana, Dholepur is the first with respect to its enjoying the British protection; the treaties with most of them were conculded in 1817-18, uniterrupted political relations with a few existed from 1803, but it was Rana Lokendr Sing alone who entered into an alliance with the Government so early as in 1779.

This alliance was made at a time the British Government was at war with the Marahtas, and therefore, on each occasion of differences between Sendhia

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and Government, Dholepur has sided with the latter. A hereditary enmity existed between Gwalior and Dholepur though the Government, and Sendhia have been at peace since a long time.

Maharana Bhagwant Sing, who ruled in 1857, knew with an experience of longer than twenty years that the only means of security to him was the British protection, and when the mutiny occurred, he cast in his lot with his overlord.

The Gwalior Contingent mutinied on the 14th June and murdered some of their officers, others accompanied with ladies and children, fled to Agra in several parties; the Maharana sheltered the fugitives hospitably, and providing them with carriages and escorts had them conveyed to the Agra fort with safety and convenience.

One of the parties, the first and larger, consisted of Major Macpherson, the Political Agent and his family; Brigadier Ramsey; Captain R. J. Meade, his wife and children; Lieutenant Sameli, the Engineer; Lieutenant Pearson, Adjutant, 2nd Infantry; Captain Murray, 2nd in Command, 4th Infantry; Dr. Sheet, 4th Infantry; Lieutenant Clarke, 2nd in command, 2nd Infantry; Dr. Quick, 2nd Artillery; Messrs Hansi, Garon and Martin of the Telegraphic Department and numerous ladies and children. The Maharana's elephants and troops were waiting for them on the Chambal and took them to Dholepur where they were accommodated for the day. In the evening they started for Agra, the officers on elephants, the ladies and children in Raths and Bailies,

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(as the English carriages were not then in much use particularly in Native States), and under a strong guard of the State they safely entered the Agra fort at 10 o'clock next morning.

The other parties also met a similarly kind treatment; and Mrs. Coopland in her personal narrative entitled, "A lady's escape from Gwalior," writes :— "Many of them (the fugitives) came through Dholepur country, the Raja of which was prodigal in his attentions and his provisions of conveyance and escort."

In recognition of these good services, Maharana Bhagwant Sing was created a Grand Commander of the Star of India.

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CHAPTER VI.

Harouti.

SECTION I.

Bundi.

It is said of Maharao Raja Ram Sing of Bundi that, deviating from the renowned fidelity of his house, he acted with an indifference and apathy towards the Government during the mutinies and friendly intercourse with him was, therefore, broken for about one year as a mark of the Government displeasure.

But the reason to justify such sentiments formed of him, does not appear to be well grounded; since it is certain that one hundred horse, of his gallant Hadas were sent on the first call with Major Burton, the Polilitical Agent of Kota, and according to Captain Lloyd, the Superintendent of Nimach, they entered that Cantonment on the 8th June and their presence there proved most fortunate and happy for the interest of the Government. It is likewise well-known that on Tantia Topi's flight from Indargarh to Bundi, the gates of Bundi were shut against him and the rebel was forced to take a south-westerly direction.

The Nimach service may be considered a trifling one, and in regard to the opposition to Tantia, it may be said that there was no alternative as a strong British

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force under Colonel Holmes was in hot pursuit after the fugitive rebel.

It must be remembered that Bundi is a small State not larger in extent and revenue than many of the third class States; its sending 100 horses for the service of the Government, at a time when every State required troops for its own internal peace, and many could not afford to send a single armed man, was something better than nothing; and since slight opposition to the mutineers in their last struggles and a little help to the pursuing British officers on the part of other chiefs have been taken as acts of great loyalty, Ram Sing's conduct against Tantia was by no means inconsiderable.

With high attainments in learning, 36 years' personal experience of governing his State, and full knowledge of the fact that his State had given friendly help to Colonel Manson, in his expedition against Hulkar and again on that Officer's being forced to retreat so early as 1804, Ram Sing cannot be believed to have assumed the independence of his powerful overlord and shown any sympathy to the rebels whose brutal acts indicated their certain downfall from the beginning.

The only probable cause of the misconception seems to be that being an old man and a Sanskrit Pandit, the Maharao Raja was very conservative and averse to every western innovation, his opposition in introducing reforms in his States seems to have led to the conclusion that he lacked also in his loyalty and devotion

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to the Government. But how distinct these two subjects are, is self-evident.

SECTION II.

Kota.

Maharao Ram Sing of Kota was not less loyal and faithful to the British Government than the other princes, for soon after the outbreak of the mutiny he sent with Major Burton, the Political Agent, a body of his four hundred troops which, along with one hundred Bundi horse and the Udaipur force, as ordered by the Agent, Governor-General, occupied Nimach after the mutinous regular troops had deserted the station. Captain Lloyd, the Superintendent of Nimach, wrote on the occasion that, "The move of Kota force under Major Burton for the protection of Jawad, has been most fortunate and happy one for the interests of the Government."

The Maharao, however, was the most unfortunate in Rajputana, for, it was at his capital alone that five Englishmen, including the representative of the Government, were cruelly and ruthlessly murdered.

Thinking it unnecessary to stay longer at Nimach after the fall of Delhi and preferring to be at his post, Major Burton returned to Kota with two of his sons, aged 21 and 16 years, leaving his wife and four remaining children at Nimach.

He reached Kota on the 12th October, visited the Maharao on the 13th, and was visited by him in

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return on the 14th. At the return visit, as the Maharao subsequently stated, Major Burton gave him the names of some officers who had shown arrogant and disaffected spirit during their late service under him and impressed upon him the advisability of punishing or at least dismissing them. On the same day the Maharao reprimanded the Officers for their misbehaviour; and whether the prince mentioned or not the name of Major Burton, the occurrence soon after the interview led the officers to believe that they had been reproached at the instance of the Political Agent.

The Officers and men were, in truth, alike disaffected, and the displeasure of their master made them determined on revenge upon Major Burton. Accordingly they assembled the following morning and taking guns with them, rushed upon the Agency office. Major Burton was surprised by hearing a great noise on the approach of the multitude, and at first imagined it was the procession of some great men coming out to welcome him back to the station, but he was soon undeceived as it turned out to be a large body of the Maharao's troops coming to attack the Agency. The invaders first killed Dr. Sadler, the Agency Surgeon and Mr. Saviel, the Doctor of the City Dispensary, residing at the Agency, and then attacked Major Burton's residence. The guards and servants fled from the premises and hid themselves in the ravines close by. Major Burton and his sons and a servant, the camel driver, fled and took refuge in a room on the roof of the house. The revolters then fired round shot into the Agency. For four hours

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these brave men defended themselves till at length the bungalow was set on fire, and Major Burton feeling the case desperate, proposed to surrender on the condition of sparing his sons' lives. The young men at once rejected the offer saying they would all die together; they knelt down and prayed for the last time and then calmly and heroically met their fate. The mob had by this time procured scaling ladder and gaining the roof rushed in and despatched their victims, the servant alone escaping. Major Burton's head was cut off and paraded through the town and then fired from a gun; but the other bodies were, by the Maharao's order, intered in the evening.

It was not known at the time to what extent the Maharao was answerable for the crime; but it soon came to light that not only was he quite powerless to do anything hut he himself was subjected to great ignominy and troubles.

Immediately, as the tragedy occurred, he communicated the event to General Lawrence with expression of his deep regret pleading his innocence owing to the obstinacy of his troops.

The rebels imprisoned the Maharao in his palace and forced him to sign a paper consisting of nine articles, one of which was that he had ordered the murder of Major Burton. He was obliged to endeavour by compliance to keep the rebels in good humour, but meanwhile he secretly sent messengers to his relative princes, the Maharana of Udaipur and the Maharaja of Karouli and solicited their help.

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His request to the former was that the Maharani, who was a daughter of Udaipur house, might be removed to that State as the privacy of the Kota zanana was insecure from the turbulent conduct of the troops who had actually assaulted the palace. The Maharana of Udaipur willingly desired to bring away and receive his relation at Udaipur or at least to afford her refuge within his territory, but he was prevented from doing so at the advice of Captain Showers with the view that the Maharani would be accompanied by a large retinue of the Kota men whose mixing with the Udaipur people might spread disaffection in latter State also.

The Maharaja of Karouli promptly afforded relief to his relative in the adversity by sending a strong detachment of his troops that drove the rebels from the part of the town in which the palace is situated, released the Maharao, and defended him until the rebels were finally defeated and turned out by the British Army. The rebels continued to hold the other parts of town, the inhabitants of which were reduced by pillage and other excesses to misery and a great disturbance prevailed in the State throughout the period.

No attempt could be made at the recovery of Kota till March 1858, when Major-General H. G. Roberts with an army of 5,500 men of all arms marched from Nasirabad on the 10th, encamped on the northern bank of the Chambal on the 22nd, and found the rebels in complete possession of the southern bank on which they had planted a large number of guns, many of large calibre. The fort, the palace, half the town, and ferry over the river, were held by the Maharao with Karouli troops.

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Hearing on the 25th that the rebels were going to assault the palace with the object of seizing the ferry, General Roberts sent 300 men of the 83rd under Major Meath to aid the Maharao and the rebels were repulsed. Roberts crossed the river on the 27th with 600 of the 95th and two guns, and having placed the heavy guns in the fort in position to bear on the enemy's camp, opened on the 29th a heavy fire of shot and shell. On the 30th, whilst the remainder of the force cannonaded the rebel's position from the north bank, Roberts marching from the fort in three columns, moved on it on the south bank and gained it with very small loss. By this brilliant manaevoure he not only completely defeated the enemy but captured 50 guns. The cavarly, however, failed to intercept the rebels, and they almost all escaped. The authority of the Maharao having been completely established in three weeks, General Roberts returned to Nasirabad, sending a portion of his troops to garrison Nimach.

Though it was established beyond doubt that the Maharao had no foreknowledge of the evil intentions of the rebels, had no control over them to prevent the mournful events that occurred and was himself subjected to great dangers and difficulties, yet, on the supposition that in spite of all the obstacles he could do something, had he tried to do, and by remaining inactive, he failed to perform his duty, his salute was reduced from 17 to 13 guns as a mark of the displeasure of the Government. On his death in 1866, however, the full salute of 17 guns was restored to his successor Maharao Satru Sal.

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SECTION III.

Jhalrapatan.

Maharaj Rana Pirthi Sing was perfecly loyal to the British Government; he very hospitably received the European fugitives that took refuge in his State and had them coveyed to places of safety.

In the latter part of August 1858, Tantia Topi accompanied with Rao Sahib and the Nawab of Banda, pursued by Brigadier Parke, crossed the Chambal and marched upon Jhalrapatan. The Maharaj Rana who, with his sincere loyalty to the Government, was determined not to yield to the rebels without a struggle, sent out his troops to repel the enemy. An action took place in which the Raj troops were defeated and lost many men. Among the killed were two Mamu-Bhanja (a maternal uncle and his nephew) whose tombs situated at a short distance from the Jhalawar Agency Bungalow bear testimony to their devotion.

The victorious rebels took possession of the Chhaoni as well as of Patan and captured the Rana's guns, more than thirty in number, ammunition, bullocks and horses. The Rao Sahib acting as representative of the Peshwa, summoned the Rana to his camp and put him in confinement. The Rao and Tantia were bent upon forcing Pirthi Sing to become a rebel and join them, but the Banda Nawab, who had himself joined the rebels under compulsion, suggested the prince to fly rather than to comply with their wishes.

In the Conference the rebels demanded the payment of Rs. 25,00,000; the Maharaj Rana agreed to pay

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Rs. 15,00,000 and actually paid Rs. 5,00,000, but he was heartily aggrieved with the insult and ill-treatments which Imam Ali, the Worthy Major of the 5th Irregular Cavalry, subjected him to.

In order to rescue the chief from his difficult position, a false report was spread by firing off the fort guns that the Rani had given birth to a son, and the rebels were thus induced to let the Rana to go to his palace with the expectation of taking from him a feast next morning. But Pirthi Sing fled before the morning came; the night was dark, the rain poured in torrent, and the Kali Sindh was in its high floods; accompanied by Chanda Chaube alone Pirthi Sing crossed the river with two men—natives of a Kota village—on the opposite bank and walked to Asnawar before daylight; he then went to Delanpur and finally to British protection at Mau. On his departure he left some barrels of powder ready for his wife and family to blow themselves up if insulted by the rebels.

Freed by rising of the Chambal from all chance of immediate pursuit, Tantia halted five days at Jhalrapatan, issued three months' pay of his followers and enlisted a large number of men. He extorted Rs. 6,00,000 from rich bankers of Patan and Rs. 4,00,000 more by sale of the plundered property, and then he marched to Rajgarh.

The Maharaj Rana was highly thanked by the British Government for his fidelity and sympathised for his losses in consideration of which his tribute for the year amounting to Rs. 80,000 was remitted.

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SECTION IV.

Tonk.

Though Captain Showers, the Political Agent of Mewar, who had taken possession of Nimahera, has made in his "Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny," the following angry remarks against Tonk and particularly against Nimahera and its Amil Bakhshi Gulam Muhyuddin Khan :—

"Most of the detached districts of this Mohamadan principality (Tonk) sympathised with the Delhi dynasity during the mutiny and gave trouble.

"At Tonk, the capital of the Mohamadan principality of that name, a dominion of spoil as above described—the mutineers (the Nimach Brigade) were cordially welcomed and entertained and joined by a large body of population of that place, soldiery and others.

"Discovery of hostile intrigue at work at Nimahera in communication with the rebels at Mandisore."

Yet it was ascertained from all sources that not only was Nawab Wazir Mohamad Khan free from all accusations but also sincerely loyal to the British Government. He rendered good services during the mutiny and whatever he did was done heartily and actively.

Twice he opposed the mutineers on their passing through his capital, once when the Nimach Brigade marched to Agra in the latter part of June 1857, and again when the combined rebel forces of Tantia Topi and the Banda Nawab, numbering 17,000 men, made a raid on Tonk in June 1858. The limited body of the

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Tonk troops, of course could not successfully fight with the disciplined and overwhelming number of the rebels, and the Nawab sustained a loss on each of the occasions, particularly on the latter when four of his guns were taken away by the insurgents.

In recognition of his fidelity and the bravery displayed in the field, the pargana of Nimahera which had been unjustly wrested from his officers by Captain Showers, was restored to him by Lord Canning in his Agra Darbar, and his salute was raised from 15 to 17 guns.

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CHAPTER VII.

Conclusion.

A strong current of English thought and feeling was turned towards the Indian affairs by the events of 1857, and every one was eager to ascertain what defects in the administrative machinery had occasioned so sudden and serious a collapse. So early as in July 1857, Mr. Disraeli took the view that the revolt was not military but national, and proposed by way of remedy a royal commission to enquire into grievances and a large increase of European force, and Lord Palmerston represented to Her Majesty the Queen the incoveniences occasioned by the so-called double Government of India of the Board of Control and of the Court of Directors. For sometime previously there was discontent in Great Britian at the Government of the East India Company and a growing sentiment that the people of India ought to be brought under the supervision of the British Parliament. In February 1858, as the Prime Minister introduced a bill for giving effect to this his recommendation, Lord Ellenborough, in the house of Lords, objected that the supremacy of the British rule should be completely established before structural questions of administration could be properly discussed. It became, however, apparent that main weight of the Parliamentary opinion inclined to a transfer of the

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Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown. The Company was too powerful a corporation to resign its powers and dignities without a struggle. Earl Grey in the Lords and Mr. Baring in the Commons, presented the Directors' protest against the threatened extinction; while Lord Palmerston explained the incoveniences of the double Government by showing the delay and confusion involved in the procedure which kept momentous despatches oxcillating between Cannon Row and Leadenhall street and the obscurity thrown on the real seat of power and the real responsibility. He proposed to substitute an Indian Council of fifteen members, eight of whom must have served in India for ten years, presided over by a Secretary of the state with a seat in the Parliament, in lieu of the Court of Directors, the Secret Committee and the President of the Board of Control. An amendment hostile to the proposed measure moved by Mr. T. Baring, evoked from Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, a statesmanlike disquisition on the subject which put the case for the transfer in its most convincing aspect. The petition against the Bill was based on two fallacies; one, that it was by the Company that the East Indian Empire was acquired; another, that the administration of the Company had been extraordinarily good. A slight historical retrospect sufficed to expose the futility of these assumptions. As for pretensions to administrative excellence, there had never been a worse Government than that of the East India Company from 1758 to 1784.

Its good character had been earned since Parliamentary control had compelled it to be good, and the

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excellence had been attained by gradual curtailment of its mercantile and administrative powers. Pitt's contrivance of the Board of Control had secured the much needed subordination and Dundas had completed it in 1793. The Company's China monopoly was abolished, in 1813, their other trade privileges followed in 1833 and on the last occasion, in 1853, one third of the Directors had been made nominees of the Crown and the Civil Service was taken out of their hands.

In connection with the mutiny, it was clear that the policy of annexation on lapse which began from the Satara case, and which is considered as a principal cause of revolt, originated from Lord Dalhousie in his minute of the 30th August 1848, and was approved of by an overwhelming majority of the Court of Directors. Mr. Ross D. Mangles wrote a minute of approval which was subscribed to by nine members of the Court of Directors, only four being dissentients. Without the powerful and overwhelming support of the Court, Lord Dalhousie would have been unable to carry such momentous innovation in principle of Indian policy, more especially since the highest local authority, Sir George Clarke, the Governor of Bombay and Bartle Frere, the resident of Satara, were opposed to it.

Change of rule after the mutiny was imperative.— The conclusion of a bloody war necessitated that a message of peace and mercy be conveyed to the people of India, but the Company themselves being responsible for the acts that brought on the war, were not the fit persons to make such announcement. The words of assurance and amnesty would be a bare faced mockery

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from the Court of Directors who recorded their approval of the original conception on the principle and confirmed each successive act of annexation. The only personage by whom such noble words could be rightly and suitably uttered was Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, and, therefore, the Government of India was transferred to her.

Mr. Baring's amendment was negatived and the Bill after undergoing many vicissitudes particularly from Lord Ellenborough's opposition ultimately became law on the 2nd August 1858. No sooner had this act been accomplished than it devolved upon the first Minister of the Crown, the Earl of Derby, to draw up for submission to the Queen a proclamation, forthwith to be issued by Her Majesty in which should be set forth the principles on which the administration of India should, in future, be conducted.

The draft was accordingly snbmitted, but it seemed to Her Majesty and to Prince Albert in one case to invert and in another to express feebly the meaning they were anxious to convey. The minister was requested to frame it again, bearing in mind that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern pecple on assuming the direct Government over them, and after a bloody war giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem and explaining the principles of her Government. Such a document should breathe the feelings of generosity, benevolence and religious toleration and point out the privileges which the Indians will

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receive on being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the civilization.

The minister, thereupon, amended the draft which meeting the requirements in every respect was approved by Her Majesty and ran as follows:—

The Queen's Proclamation.

1. Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, Queen, defender of the faith.

2. Whereas, for diverse weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the Government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in turst for us by the Honourable East India Company.

3. Now, therefore, we do, by these presents, notify and declare that by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said Government, and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the Government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

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4. And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgment, of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and Councillor, Charles John Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our First Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said territories, and to administer the Government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive from us through one of our principal Secretaries of State.

5. And we do hereby confirm in their several Offices, Civil and Military, all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

6. We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company, are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained; and we look for the like observance on their part.

7. We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggressions upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own, and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement

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which can only be secured by internal peace and good Government.

8. We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

9. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

10. And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race and creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

11. We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will

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that, generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India.

12. We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field ; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

13. Already in one province, with a view to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our Government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor-General and do further announce and proclaim as follows :—

14. Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been and shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects.

15. With regard to such, the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

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16. To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed, but in appointing the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance, and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in a too credulous acceptance of the false report circulated by designing men.

17. To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

18. It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with their conditions before the first day of January next.

19. When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquility shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its Government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all Power grant unto us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

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Promulgation...

Lord Canning received this proclamation in October 1858, and by the same mail he learnt that Her Majesty had appointed him her first Viceroy.

The royal proclamation translated into all languages and most of the dialects in use throughout the wide territorial confines of the Indian empire, was read to the people with accommplished ceremonial splendour in all the great centres of population and at every civil and military station in the country on the 1st November 1858.

This royal utterance was accompanied by another emanating from the new Viceroy calling upon Indian subjects to yield a loyal obedience to the Sovereign. The two proclamations were recognised throughout India as announcing the conclusion of a struggle which the vast majority of the inhabitants of the country regarded with great dislike which to large classes near the scene of action was a source of serious danger, discomfort and loss, and which it had from the very beginning been evident, could end in the discomfiture and destruction of the insurgents. They had a good effort in placing before the many millions of Indian subjects, instead of the intangible and mysterious abstraction known as the Company, the living personage of a Sovereign interested in their lot, desirous of their welfare, powerful enough to crush opposition, but inspired by sentiments of justice and prompt to exercise the grand prerogative of mercy.

The Princes and Chiefs of Rajputana are particularly bound to the English thorne by ties of sincere

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respect and personal attachment, and there is a widely diffused belief among them that their own interests are best served by the security of the British rule. The direct assumption of that rule by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress was a matter of great delight and satisfaction to them, and each of their Courts celebrated its inauguration with utmost joy and exultation. All the nobles, feudal chiefs, servants and dependents were invited to public Darbars in which the proclamation was read either by the Political Agent or the Minister of the State. Reading the proclamation was followed by royal salutes and thundering of the cannons spread the happy tidings far and wide throughout the province. Palaces, temples, streets and principal buildings were lit up with brilliant illuminations; and the splendid show of fireworks, the joyful roar of Nakarhanas, and gathering of the people in gay attire, added greatly to the importance of the august occasion. Whether the health was drunk in dinners and banquest, or the hearty cheers rang on the parades, or eloquent speeches were delivered in public assemblies, Her Majesty the Queen was everywhere the object of loyal acclamations.

As a fitting sequel to the public manifestations of joy and gratification, most of the Princes addressed Kharitas to Her Majesty, offering the tribute of their loyalty with hearty congratulation on crushing the great rebellion and expressing their deep sense of gratitude for the gracious assurance that Her Majesty will respect the rights, dignity, honour and religion of the Indian Princes as her own.

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Many an important question, such as the financial difficulty, the re-organisation of the army, of the controyersy on the relations between the tea-planters and their tenants, the objection of Europeans to obtain license for carrying arms, and the reconstruction of the Viceregal Council itself, pressed upon the attention of the new Viceroy subsequently to the suppression of the mutiny and the transfer of the Government to the Crown; but none of them was so much the source of an anxiety as what is called, "the White Mutiny," of the European troops.

Shortly after the issue of the royal proclamation, a portion of the British force hitherto in the Company's employ, startled the authorities by mutinous demonstration of a somewhat serious nature. They contended that having been enlisted for service under the East India Company, they could not be transferred without their own consent to the service of the Crown, and they demanded either discharge or fresh bounty money.

Collisions were avoided with difficulty at Allahabad, Merath and other important Cantoments, and one Regiment, the 5th Bengal Fusiliers, broke into mutiny at Barhampur and threatened violence, but their discontent also was happily brought to conclusion without a resort to force. It would have been wise to have allowed them a small bounty on re-enlistment, but with an unwise economy or obstinacy not only were the services of 10,000 of these seasoned veterans lost to the army, but also the expense of their passage to England more than the bounty which would

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have satisfied them, was incurred. The measure, moreover, produced a dangerous excitement in the native mind fortunately too completely cowed to admit of any bad use being made of a critical opportunity.

This insubordinate behaviour of the troops strengthened the proposed measure of amalgamating the European forces (those serving under the orders of the Home Government and those locally employed for India), which had been a subject of controversy from the days of Pitt. Sir W. Mansfield (Lord Sandhurst) wrote that, "not only for our future safety in India but as an example to Her Majesty's army which cannot but be affected by the dangerous example, the local European army should cease to exist. He supported his views by a grave picture of the lengths to which the European mutiny had gone. The establishment of the 9 Regiments of royal infantry, 3 of cavalry and additions to Engineers and artillery corps absorbed the remaining officers and men of the Companay's old European local troops.

In the autumn of 1859, Lord Canning proceeded to the Upper Provinces, for the purpose of receiving the Feudatory chiefs in Darbars and rewarding those whose loyalty during the rebellion had been conspicuous. After visiting Kanhpur and Lakhnow, he proceeded to Agra, where, in a grand Darbar held towards the close of November 1859, many of the Princes of Rajputana, Central India and North-Western-Provinces, received the generous recognition of their services to the estate. His Excellency addressed every Prince separately in

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terms illustrating his worthy conduct and suitable to the particular deeds of his loyalty and circumstances of his State ; and his long and eloquent speech was extemporaneously translated into vernacular by his able Secretary, Honourable Cecil Beadon. All the ceremonies of public rejoicings, the booming of the salute guns, the offering of the Nazars, the grant of Khilats, visits and return visits, illuminations and fireworks, were thoroughly and elaborately gone through.

The tide of rebellion had been rolled back, peace had been restored throughout the country and the benevolent expressions in paragraphs 6 and 7 of the royal proclamation had highly gratified the Princes, yet the memory of escheats and annexations based on the doctrine of lapse was too recent to be effaced in the clang of arms and terrible scenes of the mutiny. On the contrary, the very fact that the British power emerged from the struggle, the one unquestioned paramount authority in the country, at the outset inspired some natural misgivings as to its intentions towards the principalities in subordinate alliance with it. Numerous instances in the Indian history of new departures and changes of policy followed by re-actions, might lead to suspect that the indulgence without providing a specific remedy for the dreaded evil shown at a time could be withdrawn with a different view at another. Mutual trust and co-operation could not be carried out without a sound foundation, and something was needed to repudiate Lord Dalhousie's policy and reassure the princes in an unmistakeable manner and without the possibility of reaction.

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Accordingly, Lord Canning took a decisive step, and with the object that the native sovereigns might be knit with the paramount power and assured of Her Majesty's desire to see their rule perpetuated, issued the following Sanad to the Hindu Princes:—

The Adoption Sanad.

Her Majesty being desirous that the Government of the several Princes and Chiefs of India, who now govern their own territories, should be perpetuated and dignity of their Houses should be continued, I hereby, in fulfilment of this desire, convey to you the assurance that on failure of natural heirs, the adoption by yourself and future rulers of your State of a successor according to Hindu Law and to the customs of your race, will be recognized and confirmed.

Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagement thus made to you so long as your House is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of the treaties, grants, or engagements which record its obligations to the British Government.

11th March 1862. (Signed) CANNING.

The Mohammadan law of inheritance does not recognise adoption, therefore the Sanads granted to the Musalman rulers, of which the Tonk Sanad is dated the 28th May 1862 and signed by Lord Elgin and Kincardin, were modified in the following manner, after the words—"on the failure of natural heirs:"—

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"Any succession to the Government of your State, which may be legitimate according to the Muhammadan law, will be recognized and confirmed."

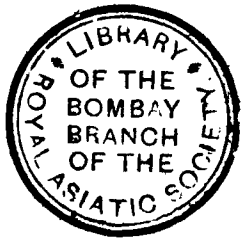
The imperial prerogative was exercised after the mutiny in many ways, such as by bestowal of decorations, honours, and salutes and by grant of territorial possessions; but no manifestation of it was received by the princes with so much enthusiasm and delight as the issue of the adoption Sanad which had conferred upon them a real, substantial and everlasting benefit and has prepetuated their Houses.

The Sanad announced a new policy, declared in unequivocal terms, the grant of a highly valued concession, and created a basis of mutual trust and confidence upon which the new relations are established. The Princes assured of the royal interest in the welfare of their own Houses, feel satisfied that any representations made to them as to the contentment of their subjects, are inspired by a genuine desire for their own welfare which is no less an object of concern to the Crown than to themselves.

The Sanad has virtually become a law, and with its general influence has proved more advantageous than it was intended to be. The pledge was given to the favoured few who received the instrument; but the spirit which suggested it guides the British relations with other States than those which received the guarantee and the relations of the principal States with their subordinate chiefships, and the customary treatment accorded to the leading sovereigns, is not forgotten in dealing with the rest.

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Acting up to the principle of fealty at all hazards, which Colonel Tod speaks in high terms, as characteristic of the gallant races of Rajputana, has been fully verified by the loyal support they gave to the Government at its time of greatest need, and the patronage for which he solicited King George IV, has been granted to them by Her Gracious Majesty Victoria, the Queen-Empress. Their loyalty under this patronage has acquired a new depth and sincerity and seeing more clearly than before that their interests are identical with those of the empire, they will, in the words of their Annalist and Admirer, make its enemies their own and glory in assuming Saffron robe emblematic of death or victory.



THE END.

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